NOTICE: **Return or renew all Library Materials! The *Minimum* Fee for each Lost Book is $50.00.**

The person charging this material is responsible for its return to the library from which it was withdrawn on or before the **Latest Date** stamped below.

Theft, mutilation, and underlining of books are reasons for disciplinary action and may result in dismissal from the University.
To renew call Telephone Center, 333-8400

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS LIBRARY AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN

JAN 12 2001
JAN 02 2001
JUL 17 2002

CLASSICS

L161—O-1096

THE
Greek Questions
OF
PLUTARCH

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON: AMEN HOUSE, E.C. 4
EDINBURGH GLASGOW LEIPZIG
COPENHAGEN NEW YORK TORONTO
MELBOURNE CAPETOWN BOMBAY
CALCUTTA MADRAS SHANGHAI
HUMPHREY MILFORD
PUBLISHER TO THE
UNIVERSITY

THE
Greek Questions
OF
PLUTARCH

WITH A NEW TRANSLATION

&

A COMMENTARY

BY

W. R. HALLIDAY

PRINCIPAL OF KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON, SOMETIME RATHBONE PROFESSOR
OF ANCIENT HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
1928

Printed in Great Britain

881 Classics
Pb mfg. h

TO

R. M. DAWKINS

Classics 10 Aug 29 Stechert
Jones 8029

693416

PREFACE

IT cannot be claimed for Plutarch's *Greek Questions* that they possess any great literary interest or merit, but for several reasons it seemed worth while to attempt an edition of them. So far as I am aware, no considerable commentary upon the subject-matter of them exists in any language, though they happen to be our sole authority for a number of curious facts, which are of some importance for the study of Greek history and Greek religion.

In a sense this forms a companion volume to the admirable edition of *The Roman Questions* by my friend Professor H. J. Rose. The reason that it is not arranged in the same way, will, I think, be obvious to any one who considers the differences in character of the two tracts. In fact a running commentary upon so miscellaneous a collection of diverse material proved to be impracticable, and the course here adopted of appending to the translation of each Question a discussion of the points which arise from it, appeared to be the most sensible arrangement.

I have provided a text in order to enable the reader to see the Greek which I have tried to translate, but it makes no pretence to be a critical edition. The very difficult textual problems of the *Moralia* cannot profitably be attacked piecemeal, and I should have been unwilling in any case to venture upon the vast morass in order to reach so partial an objective. It seemed the less necessary in view of the fact that we may hope soon to have in the new Teubner edition a modern text in which, to judge from the first volume, acuteness of scholarship is balanced by rigorous scientific method and sound judgement. The former but not the latter qualities, appear to me to distinguish the work of Bernardakis. I have therefore fallen back upon the text of Wyttenbach, which still remains the best which is at present available.

My thanks are due to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press for undertaking the printing of a work, which is not likely to be remunerative, and to the Committee of the Craven Fund in the University of Oxford for making a grant in aid of the expenses of publication.

Among the many scholars to whose help I am indebted, I here owe most to Professor H. J. Rose of St. Andrews and Mr. A. D. Nock of Clare College, Cambridge, who have both been through nearly all my notes in manuscript. I have to thank my former pupil and colleague Dr. R. B. Onians of Liverpool for checking some inaccuracies and my friend Mr. Cyril Bailey both for corrections and helpful suggestions. I have a different but delightful reason to be grateful to Professor F. E. Adcock and to King's College, Cambridge.

There is one other debt which I should wish to record. It is my ill fortune to find myself in constant disagreement with the views of Miss Jane Ellen Harrison. Here and elsewhere I have conducted controversy according to the rigour of the game. But she will know, and I should wish the reader to know, that I am not therefore insensible of the very substantial service which she has rendered to our particular branch of classical study, and I shall never forget that it is in no small measure to her personal help, encouragement and interest in my work that I owe such proficiency as I have been able to attain.[1]

However far this little book may fall short of the high standard of accuracy in scholarship, which was not the least valuable of the lessons to be learned by former students of the British School at Athens from the precept and example of their Director and Editor, I feel sure that a friendship which has survived long days of companionship in *arabahs* and in the converted fish-holds of trawlers will not be seriously imperilled by the dedication.

W. R. H.

[1] Since these lines were printed classical scholarship has had to mourn the loss of the most brilliant of its daughters.

CONTENTS

List of Abbreviations 11

Introduction 13

THE GREEK QUESTIONS OF PLUTARCH

Greek Text 17

Translation and Commentary 39

1. The 'dusty feet' and 'directors' at Epidauros . . 39
2. The 'rider on the donkey' and the official named 'guardian' at Kume 41
3. The 'hypekkaustria' at Soli 45
4. The 'amnemones' and 'aphester' at Knidos . . 47
5. Of those called 'auspicious' by Arcadians and Lacedaemonians 50
6. The 'barley picker' at Opous, preliminary rites of sacrifice and two sorts of priests 51
7. Floating Clouds 53
8. Of the meaning of 'platuchaitas' in the Boeotian speech . 54
9. Of 'consecrator' and the month *Busios* at Delphi, the duties of Hosioi, the festival of the seventh of *Busios* and when the oracle may be consulted 56
10. The plant called 'sheep-escaper' 63
11. An Eretrian settlement in Corcyra and why Methonaeans are called 'the men who were driven off with slings' . . 63
12. The ennaeteric festivals *Septerion*, *Herois*, and *Charila* at Delphi 65
13. The migrations of the Ainianes, the gift of earth, and the meaning of 'beggar's meat' 73
14. The Koliadai of Ithaka and an annual sacrifice to Telemachos 79
15. The oracle of the dog-brier and the reason why Western Lokrians are called Ozolian 83
16. The dress called 'aphabroma' which is worn by Megarian women 91
17. The meaning of 'spear-friend' 95
18. 'Return of interest' 99
19. Of Kalauria and the oracle praising the wine of Anthedon . 102
20. The Battle of the Oak 106
21. 'Burners' in Crete and how the Minyans of Laconia settled there 108
22. 'The tomb of the children' in Chalkis 112
23. Of the worship of Kastor and Polydeukes in Argos and of exorcizers of epilepsy 116
24. Funeral ceremonies at Argos 120
25. The meaning of *alastor*, *aliterios*, and *palamnaios* . . 126
26. The chant of the Ainianian maidens 129
27. Why a herald may not enter the shrine of Okridion at Rhodes 130
28. Why a flute-player may not enter the shrine of Tenes nor Achilles be named therein 133

29. The commercial dealings of Epidamnians with natives . 137
30. The dispute between Andrians and Chalkidians for the possession of Akanthos 139
31. Why the Eretrian women eat sun-dried meat and do not invoke Kalligeneia when celebrating the *Thesmophoria* . 142
32. Of party strife in Miletus and of those called 'perpetual sailors' 145
33. 'The Club House of the Young Men' at Chalkis . . 147
34. The man who sacrificed an ox to his benefactor . . 148
35. The origin of Iapygians and Bottiaeans and a refrain sung by Bottiaean maidens 149
36. Of the tauriform Dionysos and his invocation by the women of Elis 152
37. The Achilleion at Tanagra and the story of Poimandros . 159
38. Psoloeis and Oleiai, the story of the daughters of Minyas and the ritual of *Agrionia* at Orchomenos . . . 164
39. The fate of those who enter the precinct of Zeus Lykaios in Arcadia 168
40. Why no woman may enter the shrine of Eunostos at Tanagra 173
41. The history of Deïmachos and Glaukia and why a river in Boeotia is called Skamandros 176
42. A saying of Dino of Tarentum 179
43. The parentage of Odysseus and of the town Alalkomenai in Ithaka 180
44. The 'solitary eaters' in Aigina 183
45. Why the image of Labrandean Zeus holds an axe . . 185
46. Why the people of Tralles use vetch in ritual purifications . 189
47. The temple robber Sambikos and his fate 191
48. How Sparta acquired the Palladium and built a shrine of Odysseus to guard it 192
49. Why the women of Chalkedon veil one side of their faces . 194
50. Why Argives put their ewes to the ram in the precinct of Agenor 197
51. The 'pear-throwers' or 'pelters of pear-trees' in Argos . 198
52. Why brood mares may not be served within the borders of Elis 200
53. A curious custom observed at Cnossos by those who borrow money 202
54. Aphrodite of Dexikreon in Samos 202
55. The festival of Hermes Charidotes at Samos when thieving is permitted 205
56. The battle between Dionysos and the Amazons in Samos and the reason why the site is called Panaima . . . 207
57. The banqueting hall at Samos which is called *Pedetes* . 211
58. Why the priest of Herakles at Antimachia wears a woman's dress and bridegrooms in Kos are accustomed to welcome their brides wearing women's clothes . . . 212
59. The 'wagon-rollers' of Megara 219

INDEX OF NAMES OF MONTHS 221

INDEX OF NAMES OF FESTIVALS 221

GENERAL INDEX 222

ABBREVIATIONS

A. J. A. = *American Journal of Archaeology.*

Allen, *Homeric Catalogue* = T. W. Allen, *The Homeric Catalogue of Ships.* Oxford, 1921.

Allen, *Homer* = T. W. Allen, *Homer, The Origin and the Transmission.* Oxford, 1924.

Annals = *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology.*

A. R. W. = *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.*

B. C. H. = *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique.*

B. S. A. = *The Annual of the British School at Athens.*

Bursian, *Geographie* = K. Bursian, *Geographie von Griechenland.* 2 vols. Leipzig, 1862–72.

Burton-Smithers, *Arabian Nights* = *The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night,* translated from the Arabic by Captain Sir R. F. Burton and edited by Leonard C. Smithers. 12 vols. London, 1894.

Busolt, *Staatskunde* = G. Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde,* ed. H. Swoboda. 2 vols. and index. Munich, 1920–6.

C. A. H. = *The Cambridge Ancient History.*

C. P. = *Classical Philology.*

C. Q. = *The Classical Quarterly.*

C. R. = *The Classical Review.*

Dittenberger, *Sylloge* = W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum* All references are to the third edition, Leipzig, 1915–24, unless otherwise stated.

Eitrem, *Opferritus* = S. Eitrem, *Opferritus und Voropfer der Griechen und Römer.* Christiania, 1915.

E. R. E. = Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.*

F. H. G., Müller = *Fragmenta historicorum graecorum,* ed. C. Müller. Paris, 1878–85.

F. H. G., Jacoby = *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker,* ed. F. Jacoby. Berlin, 1923– .

Farnell, *C. G. S.* = L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States.* 5 vols. Oxford, 1896–1909.

Farnell, *H. C.* = L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality.* Oxford, 1921.

Fick, *V. O.* = A. Fick, *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen als Quelle für die Vorgeschichte Griechenlands.* Göttingen, 1905.

Fick, *Hatt. und Dan.* = A. Fick, *Hattiden und Danubier in Griechenland.* Göttingen, 1909.

Fowler, *Rel. Ex.* = W. Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People.* London, 1911.

Frazer, *G. B.* = (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough.* 3rd ed. 11 vols. and index. London, 1911–15.

Giessen = Giessen, "Plutarchs Quaestiones Graecae und Aristoteles' Politien", *Philologus,* lx.

Gilbert, *Handbuch* = G. Gilbert, *Handbuch der griechischen Staatsaltertümer.* Leipzig, 1881–5.

Harrison, *Prolegomena* = Jane E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion.* 2nd ed. Cambridge, 1908.

Head, *H. N.* = B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum.* 2nd ed. revised with the assistance of G. F. Hill, George Macdonald, and W. Wroth. Oxford, 1911.

J. H. S. = *Journal of Hellenic Studies.*

Jacoby, see *F. H. G.*, Jacoby.

Müller, see *F. H. G.*, Müller.

Nilsson, *G. F.* = M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung mit Ausschluss der attischen.* Leipzig, 1906.

Nilsson, *M. M. R.* = M. P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion.* Lund, London, Paris, and Leipzig, 1927.

O. G. I. S. = *Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae*, ed. W. Dittenberger. Leipzig, 1903–5.

P. R. i = L. Preller, *Griechische Mythologie. Erster Band. Theogonie und Götter.* 4th edition by Carl Robert. Berlin, 1894. See below Robert, *Held.*

P. W. = Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.* The words 'second series' prefixed to the number of the volume indicate the *Zweite Reihe* which begins at the letter *R.*

Pfister, *Reliquienkult* = F. Pfister, *Der Reliquienkult im Altertum.* 2 vols. Giessen, 1909, 1912.

Rh. Mus. = *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie.*

Robert, *Held.* = L. Preller, *Griechische Mythologie. Zweiter Band. Die griechische Heldensage*, 4th edition rewritten by Carl Robert. Berlin, 1920– . Unlike P. R. i this is not a new edition but substantially a new work. The volumes are paged continuously. I have therefore ignored the divisions into *Bücher* and *Abteilungen*, which are of no help in looking up references.

Roscher, *Lex.* = *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, ed. W. H. Roscher. Leipzig, 1884– .

Rose, *Frag.* = *Aristotelis qui ferebantur librorum fragmenta collegit Valentinus Rose. Aristotelis Opera* edidit Academia Regia Borussica, vol. v. Berlin, 1870.

S. G. D. I. = *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*, F. Bechtel and others, ed. H. Collitz. Göttingen, 1884– .

Samter, *Familienfeste* = E. Samter, *Familienfeste der Griechen und Römer.* Berlin, 1901.

Stengel, *Kultusaltertümer* = P. Stengel, *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer.* 3rd ed. Munich, 1920.

Toepffer, *Att. Gen.* = J. Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie.* Berlin, 1899.

Tresp, *F. G. K.* = A. Tresp, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Kultschriftsteller.* Giessen, 1914.

Weniger, *Thyiaden* = L. Weniger, *Ueber das collegium der Thyiaden von Delphi, Jahresbericht über das Karl-Friedrichsche Gymnasium zu Eisenach.* Eisenach, 1876.

Whibley, *Greek Oligarchies* = L. Whibley, *Greek Oligarchies, their character and organization.* London, 1896.

Wissowa, *R. K. R.* = G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer.* 2nd ed. Munich, 1910.

INTRODUCTION

I AM unable to agree with the view of Hartman[1] that the *Greek Questions* are unauthentic because their interest is not primarily ethical, and indeed the ethical purport of the *Roman Questions*, with which he attempts in this respect to contrast them, remains not very obvious to my perception. In fact I see no reason to doubt that the two tracts are by the same hand and that both have been rightly assigned to Plutarch. In my view they stand or fall together, and there is therefore no need again to go over the ground, which has already been covered in the excellent essay of Professor Rose[2] upon these topics. I agree with him that the *Greek* and *Roman Questions*, to adopt the customary title, though Plutarch no doubt called them *Aitia* not *Aitiai*, were two of a series of three tracts, of which the *Quaestiones Barbaricae* have been lost. The matter of both is derived from literary sources, and they consist essentially of a collection of notes, which Plutarch has put together, perhaps over a fairly long period, from his miscellaneous reading. That Plutarch ever prepared them for formal publication I do not believe. Their defects of form, inconsequences, abruptnesses, omissions and obscurities, resemble those of our own more elaborate note-books for private use. I agree here with a remark of Praechter in his review of Nock's *Sallustius*. 'Man hat sich mehr und mehr, namentlich seit Jaeger's Aristotelesforschungen, abgewöhnt, bei jedem aus dem Altertum erhaltenen Schriftstück sofort an ein zum buchhändlerschen Vertrieb verfasstes Buch zu denken. Eine unterste Stufe auf dem Wege der Produktionsweisen ist das private, zum eigenen Gebrauche und zur Benutzung durch Freunde angelegte Hypomnema.'[3]

[1] Hartman, *Mnemosyne*, xli, p. 216.

[2] Rose, *The Roman Questions of Plutarch*, pp. 48 f.

[3] Praechter, *Gnomon*, iii, p. 476. I owe the reference to Mr. Nock. See also von Premerstein in *P. W.*, iv, 727, s.v. *commentarii*.

The great majority of the *Greek Questions* are concerned with problems of constitutional history or peculiarities of local religious practice. One or two aliens appear to have strayed into the collection more or less by accident, e. g. the etymological Questions 8 and 10 or Question 7, which Plutarch would more tidily have placed among his *Aetia Physica.*

The material of Question 5 has also been noted in *Roman Question* 52 and that of Question 35 has been used in *Theseus* 16.

The problems of *Quellenforschung* are more scattered than is the case of the *Roman Questions*, and no question quite like that of the rival claims of Varro or Juba here arises. Although like other ancient writers Plutarch sometimes quotes authors with whose work he is acquainted only at second hand, I have myself no doubt at all that he was an omnivorous reader. The *Greek Questions* are derived from a variety of sources, and the bulk of these I see no reason to disbelieve that Plutarch had himself read. What the source is in any particular instance, it is almost always difficult and sometimes impossible to decide with any degree of certainty.

A question which we are bound to ask ourselves is whether there is any single *Hauptquelle*? In a sense I believe that there is. I imagine that most scholars, ancient or modern, who have made similar collections from scattered sources upon a number of divers topics, will have had the experience that they started their collection under the stimulus of reading through some particular work of considerable size containing a variety of interesting bits of curious information. It will be extracts from this work which are likely to form, as it were, the backbone of the resultant note-book or box of cards.

Now that a great deal in the *Greek Questions* is drawn from the Aristotelian *Constitutions* is demonstrable, and it seems to me probable that the tract had its origin in a series of notes which Plutarch began collecting when he was working carefully through these. For that reason I am inclined,

where one of the *Constitutions* is a possible source, to regard it as being also a probable source.

Unfortunately very little light upon the sources can be deduced from the juxtaposition of Questions or from their arrangement in the book. Upon internal evidence Questions 18 and 59 are from the same source, though widely separated in the book: the relation of 13 and 26 is similar. In one or two instances, e. g. Questions 16, 17, and 18 or Questions 54, 55, 56, 57, the possibility of the sequence as indicating a common origin demands consideration.

What seemed to me to need saying on this topic, I have stated at the beginning of the notes to each question. The hypothetical attributions cannot, of course, claim any certainty, and mainly we are guessing in the dark.

But though it would naturally be interesting to obtain a knowledge of what were the contents of Plutarch's working library, it is fortunately unimportant from the point of view of the subject-matter that the sources can only be certainly decided in a very few cases. The reason for this apparent anomaly is this. The questions are raised by curious facts of detail the authenticity of which there is no reason to doubt, because no one would have had a motive in inventing them, while the majority of the answers, whatever their source, have no value whatever, except as indicating the kind of explanations which would inspire or satisfy the speculations of ancient scholars.

ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ

ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΩΝ ΚΑΤΑΓΡΑΦΗ

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ

1. *Τίνες οἱ ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ κονίποδες καὶ ἄρτυνοι;*

οἱ μὲν τὸ πολίτευμα ⟨*ἔχοντες*⟩[1] *ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν* 291 E
ἄνδρες ἦσαν· ἐκ δὲ τούτων ᾑροῦντο βουλευτάς, οὓς 'ἀρτύνους' ἐκάλουν. τοῦ δὲ δήμου τὸ πλεῖστον ἐν ἀγρῷ διέτριβεν· ἐκαλοῦντο δὲ 'κονίποδες', ὡς συμβαλεῖν ἔστιν, ἀπὸ τῶν ποδῶν γνωριζόμενοι κεκονιμένων, ὁπότε κατέλθοιεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

2. *Τίς ἡ παρὰ Κυμαίοις ὀνοβάτις;*

τῶν γυναικῶν τὴν ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ ληφθεῖσαν ἀγαγόντες εἰς F
ἀγοράν, ἐπὶ λίθου τινὸς ἐμφανῆ πᾶσι καθίστασαν· εἶθ' οὕτως ἀνεβίβαζον ἐπ' ὄνον, καὶ τὴν πόλιν κύκλῳ περιαχθεῖσαν, ἔδει πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν λίθον καταστῆναι καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἄτιμον διατελεῖν, 'ὀνοβάτιν' προσαγορευομένην. τὸν δὲ λίθον ἀπὸ τούτου οὐ καθαρὸν νομίζοντες, ἀφωσιοῦντο. ἦν δὲ καὶ φυλάκτου τις ἀρχὴ παρ' αὐτοῖς· ὁ δὲ ταύτην ἔχων τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον ἐτήρει τὸ δεσμωτήριον, εἰς δὲ τὴν βουλὴν ἐν τῷ νυκτερινῷ συλλόγῳ παριών, ἐξῆγε τοὺς βασιλεῖς τῆς 292 A
χειρὸς καὶ κατεῖχε, μέχρι περὶ αὐτῶν ἡ βουλὴ διαγνοίη, πότερον ἀδικοῦσιν ἢ οὔ, κρύβδην φέρουσα τὴν ψῆφον.

3. *Τίς παρὰ Σολίοις*[2] *ἡ ὑπεκκαύστρια;*

τὴν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱέρειαν οὕτω καλοῦσιν, ὅτι ποιεῖταί τινας θυσίας καὶ ἱερουργίας ἀποτροπαίους.

4. *Τίνες ἐν Κνίδῳ οἱ ἀμνήμονες καὶ τίς ὁ ἀφεστήρ;*

ἑξήκοντα προκρίτοις ἀνδράσιν[3] *ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων οἷον ἐπισκόποις ἐχρῶντο διὰ βίου καὶ προβούλοις τῶν μεγίστων· ἐκαλοῦντο δ' ἀμνήμονες, ὡς ἄν τις εἰκάσειε, διὰ τὸ ἀνυπεύθυνον· εἰ μὴ νὴ Δία πολυμνήμονές τινες ὄντες· ὁ δὲ τὰς* B
γνώμας ἐρωτῶν ἀφεστήρ.

5. *Τίνες οἱ παρ' Ἀρκάσι καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις χρηστοί;*

Λακεδαιμόνιοι Τεγεάταις διαλλαγέντες ἐποιήσαντο συν-

[1] ἔχοντες suppleuit Wytt. : διέποντες Bern.
[2] Σολίοις Wytt. : παρὰ Σόλοις MSS. et Bern. Cf. p. 45.
[3] προκρίτοις ἀνδράσιν Wytt. : προκρίτους ἄνδρας MSS.

θήκας, καὶ στήλην ἐπ' Ἀλφειῷ κοινὴν ἀνέστησαν, ἐν ᾗ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων γέγραπται, 'Μεσσηνίους ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς χώρας, καὶ μὴ ἐξεῖναι χρηστοὺς ποιεῖν.' ἐξηγούμενος οὖν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης τοῦτό φησι δύνασθαι τὸ μὴ ἀποκτιννύναι βοηθείας χάριν τοῖς λακωνίζουσι τῶν Τεγεατῶν.

6. 'Τίς ὁ παρὰ Ὀπουντίοις κριθολόγος;'

οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρὸς τὰς πάνυ παλαιὰς θυσίας
C ἐχρῶντο ταῖς κριθαῖς ἀπαρχομένων τῶν πολιτῶν· τὸν μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν θυσιῶν ἄρχοντα, καὶ ταύτας κομιζόμενον τὰς ἀπαρχάς, κριθολόγον ὠνόμαζον. δύο δ' ἦσαν ἱερεῖς παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὁ μὲν περὶ τὰ θειᾶ τεταγμένος, ὁ δὲ περὶ τὰ δαιμόνια.

7. 'Τίνες αἱ πλωϊάδες νεφέλαι;'

τὰς ὑπόμβρους μάλιστα καὶ περιφερομένας ἐκάλουν πλωϊάδας, ὡς Θεόφραστος ἐν τετάρτῃ περὶ μεταρσίων εἴρηκε κατὰ λέξιν, "ἐπεὶ δὲ αἱ πλωϊάδες αὗται νεφέλαι καὶ αἱ συνεστῶσαι, ἀκίνητοι δὲ καὶ τοῖς χρώμασιν ἔκλευκοι, δηλοῦσι διαφοράν
D τινα τῆς ὕλης, ὡς οὔτ' ἐξυδατουμένης οὔτ' ἐκπνευματουμένης."

8. 'Τίς ὁ παρὰ Βοιωτοῖς πλατυχαίτας;'

τοὺς οἰκίᾳ γειτνιῶντας, ἢ χωρίοις ὁμοροῦντας, αἰολίζοντες οὕτω καλοῦσιν ὡς τὸ πλησίον ἔχοντας.[1] παραθήσομαι δὲ λέξιν μίαν ἐκ τοῦ θεσμοφυλακίου νόμου, πλειόνων οὐσῶν.

9. 'Τίς ὁ παρὰ Δελφοῖς ὁσιωτήρ, καὶ διὰ τί Βύσιον ἕνα τῶν μηνῶν καλοῦσι;'

ὁσιωτῆρα μὲν καλοῦσι τὸ θυόμενον ἱερεῖον, ὅταν ὅσιος ἀποδειχθῇ. πέντε δέ εἰσιν ὅσιοι διὰ βίου, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ μετὰ τῶν προφητῶν δρῶσιν οὗτοι, καὶ συνιερουργοῦσιν, ἅτε γεγονέναι δοκοῦντες ἀπὸ Δευκαλίωνος.

E ὁ δὲ Βύσιος μήν, ὡς μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσι, φύσιός ἐστιν· ἔαρος γὰρ ἄρχει, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ φύεται τηνικαῦτα καὶ διαβλαστάνει. Τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς οὐκ ἔχει οὕτως· οὐ γὰρ ἀντὶ τοῦ φ τῷ β χρῶνται Δελφοί, καθάπερ Μακεδόνες 'Βίλιππον' καὶ 'βαλακρόν' καὶ 'Βερονίκην' λέγοντες, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τοῦ π· καὶ γὰρ τὸ πατεῖν 'βατεῖν' καὶ τὸ πικρὸν 'βικρὸν' ἐπιεικῶς καλοῦσιν. ἔστιν οὖν Πύσιος ὁ Βύσιος, ἐν ᾧ πυστιῶνται καὶ πυνθάνονται τοῦ θεοῦ· τοῦτο γὰρ ἔνοικον καὶ πάτριον.[2] ἐν τῷ μηνὶ γὰρ τούτῳ

[1] τὸ πλησίον ἔχοντας Wytt. : πλεῖστον ἔχοντας MSS.

[2] τοῦτο γὰρ ἔνοικον Bern : τὸ γὰρ ἐννοεῖν MSS. : τὸ γὰρ ἔνοικον Wytt : τὸ γὰρ ἔννομον Weniger.

χρηστήριον ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἑβδόμην ταύτην νομίζουσι τοῦ θεοῦ γενέθλιον, καὶ πολύφθοον ὀνομάζουσιν, οὐ διὰ τὸ πέττεσθαι φθόϊς, ἀλλὰ πολυπευθῆ καὶ πολυμάντευτον οὖσαν. ὀψὲ γὰρ ἀνείθησαν αἱ κατὰ μῆνα μαντεῖαι τοῖς δεομένοις, πρότερον δ' ἅπαξ ἐθεμίστευεν ἡ Πυθία τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ κατὰ ταυτὴν τὴν ἡμέραν, ὡς Καλλισθένης καὶ Ἀναξανδρίδης ἱστορήκασι.

10. 'Τί τὸ φυξίμηλον;' 293 A

τῶν μικρῶν ἐστι καὶ χαμαιζήλων φυτῶν, ὧν ἐπιόντα τοὺς βλαστοὺς τὰ βοσκήματα κολούει καὶ ἀδικεῖ καὶ λυμαίνεται τὴν αὔξησιν. ὅταν γοῦν ἀναδραμόντα μέγεθος λάβῃ, καὶ διαφύγῃ τὸ βλάπτεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπινεμομένων,[1] φυξίμηλα καλεῖται. τὸ δὲ μαρτύριον Αἰσχύλος.

11. 'Τίνες οἱ ἀποσφενδόνητοι;'

Κέρκυραν τὴν νῆσον Ἐρετριεῖς κατῴκουν· Χαρικράτους δὲ πλεύσαντος ἐκ Κορίνθου μετὰ δυνάμεως, καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ κρατοῦντος, ἐμβάντες εἰς τὰς ναῦς οἱ Ἐρετριεῖς ἀπέπλευσαν οἴκαδε. προαισθόμενοι δὲ οἱ πολῖται, τῆς χώρας εἶργον B αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀποβαίνειν ἐκώλυον σφενδονοῦντες. μὴ δυνάμενοι δὲ μήτε πεῖσαι μήτε βιάσασθαι πολλοὺς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτους ὄντας, ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης ἔπλευσαν, καὶ κατασχόντες χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ πρότερον οἰκῆσαι Μέθωνα τὸν Ὀρφέως πρόγονον[2] ἱστοροῦσι, τὴν μὲν πόλιν ὠνόμασαν Μεθώνην, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν προσοίκων ἀποσφενδόνητοι προσωνομάσθησαν.

12. 'Τίς ἡ παρὰ Δελφοῖς Χάριλα;'

τρεῖς ἄγουσι Δελφοὶ ἐνναετηρίδας κατὰ τὸ ἑξῆς, ὧν τὴν μὲν Σεπτήριον καλοῦσι, τὴν δ' Ἡρωΐδα, τὴν δὲ Χάριλαν.

τὸ μὲν οὖν Σεπτήριον ἔοικε μίμημα τῆς πρὸς τὸν Πύθωνα C τοῦ θεοῦ μάχης εἶναι καὶ τῆς μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐπὶ τὰ Τέμπη φυγῆς καὶ ἐκδιώξεως. οἱ μὲν γὰρ φυγεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ φασί χρῄζοντα καθαρσίων, οἱ δὲ τῷ Πύθωνι τετρωμένῳ καὶ φεύγοντι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν νῦν ἱερὰν καλοῦμεν, ἐπακολουθεῖν, καὶ μικρὸν ἀπολειφθῆναι τῆς τελευτῆς· κατέλαβε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἄρτι τεθνηκότα καὶ κεκηδευμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδός, ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν Αἴξ, ὡς λέγουσι. τὸ μὲν οὖν Σεπτήριον τούτων ἢ τοιούτων τινῶν ἀπομίμησίς ἐστιν ἑτέρων.

τῆς δὲ Ἡρωΐδος τὰ πλεῖστα μυστικὸν ἔχει λόγον, ὃν

[1] ἐπινεμομένων Wytt.: ἐπιγενομένων MSS.
[2] πρόγονον] ἀπόγονον maluissent Xylander et Wytt., sed cf. p. 64.

ἴσασιν αἱ Θυϊάδες· ἐκ δὲ τῶν δρωμένων φανερῶς Σεμέλης ἄν τις ἀναγωγὴν εἰκάσειε.

D περὶ δὲ τῆς Χαρίλας τοιαῦτά τινα μυθολογοῦσι. λιμὸς ἐξ αὐχμοῦ τοὺς Δελφοὺς κατέσχε, καὶ πρὸς τὰς θύρας τοῦ βασιλέως ἐλθόντες μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν ἱκέτευον· ὁ δὲ τῶν ἀλφίτων καὶ τῶν χεδρόπων μετεδίδου τοῖς γνωριμωτέροις αὐτῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἱκανὰ πᾶσιν. ἐλθούσης δὲ παιδὸς ἔτι μικρᾶς ὀρφανῆς γονέων, καὶ προσλιπαρούσης, ἐρράπισεν αὐτὴν ὑποδήματι, καὶ τῷ προσώπῳ τὸ ὑπόδημα προσέρριψεν· ἡ δέ, πενιχρά τις οὖσα καὶ ἔρημος, οὐκ ἀγεννής τε τὸ ἔθος, ἐκποδὼν γενομένη, καὶ λύσασα τὴν ζώνην, ἀνήρτησεν ἑαυτήν. ἐπιτεινόντος δὲ τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ νοσημάτων προσγενομένων,

E ἀνεῖλεν ἡ Πυθία τῷ βασιλεῖ Χαρίλαν ἱλάσκεσθαι παρθένον αὐτοθάνατον. μόλις οὖν ἀνευρόντες, ὅτι τοὔνομα τοῦτ' ἦν τῇ ῥαπισθείσῃ παιδί, μεμιγμένην τινὰ καθαρμῷ θυσίαν ἀπετέλεσαν, ἣν ἐπιτελοῦσιν ἔτι καὶ νῦν δι' ἐννέα ἐτῶν. προκάθηται μὲν γὰρ ὁ βασιλεύς, τῶν ἀλφίτων καὶ τῶν χεδρόπων ἐπιδιδοὺς πᾶσι καὶ ξένοις καὶ πολίταις, κομίζεται δὲ τῆς Χαρίλας παιδικὸν εἴδωλον· ὅταν οὖν πάντες λάβωσιν, ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς

F ῥαπίζει τῷ ὑποδηματι τὸ εἴδωλον, ἡ δὲ τῶν Θυϊάδων ἀρχηγὸς ἀραμένη κομίζει πρὸς τινα τόπον φαραγγώδη, κἀκεῖ σχοινίον περιάψαντες τῷ τραχήλῳ τοῦ εἰδώλου κατορύττουσιν, ὅπου τὴν Χάριλαν ἀπαγξαμένην ἔθαψαν.

13. 'Τί τὸ πτωχικὸν κρέας παρ' Αἰνιᾶσι;'

Πλείονες γεγόνασιν Αἰνιάνων μεταναστάσεις. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οἰκοῦντες περὶ τὸ Δώτιον πεδίον, ἐξέπεσον ὑπὸ Λαπιθῶν εἰς Αἴθικας. ἐκεῖθεν τῆς Μολοσσίας τὴν περὶ τὸν Ἀραούαν χώραν κατέσχον, ὅθεν ὠνομάσθησαν Παραοῦαι. μετὰ

294 A ταῦτα Κίρραν κατέσχον· ἐν δὲ Κίρρῃ καταλεύσαντες Οἰνοκλον τὸν βασιλέα, τοῦ θεοῦ προστάξαντος, εἰς τὴν περὶ τὸν Ἴναχον χώραν κατέβησαν οἰκουμένην ὑπ' Ἰναχιέων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν. γενομένου δὲ χρησμοῦ τοῖς μὲν ἂν μεταδῶσι τῆς χώρας ἀποβαλεῖν ἅπασαν, τοῖς δ' ἂν λάβωσι παρ' ἑκόντων καθέξειν, Τέμων, ἀνὴρ ἐλλόγιμος τῶν Αἰνιάνων, ἀναλαβὼν ῥάκια καὶ πήραν ὡς προσαιτήσων[1] ἀφίκετο πρὸς τοὺς Ἰναχιεῖς· ὕβρει δὲ καὶ πρὸς γέλωτα τοῦ βασιλέως βῶλον ἐπιδόντος αὐτῷ, δεξάμενος εἰς τὴν πήραν ἀνέβαλε καὶ ἀφανὴς

B ἦν ἠγαπηκὼς τὸ δῶρον· ἀπεχώρησε γὰρ εὐθὺς οὐδὲν προσαι-

[1] προσαιτήσων Bern. : καὶ προσαίτης ὤν MSS.

τήσας. οἱ δὲ πρεσβύτεροι θαυμάσαντες ἀνεμιμνήσκοντο τοῦ χρησμοῦ, καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ προσιόντες ἔλεγον μὴ καταφρονῆσαι μηδὲ προέσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον. αἰσθόμενος οὖν ὁ Τέμων τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν ὥρμησε φεύγειν, καὶ διέφυγεν εὐξάμενος τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καθ' ἑκατόμβης. ἐκ δὲ τούτου μονομαχοῦσιν οἱ βασιλεῖς, καὶ τὸν τῶν Ἰναχιέων Ὑπέροχον ὁ τῶν Αἰνιάνων Φήμιος ὁρῶν μετὰ κυνὸς αὐτῷ προσφερόμενον, οὐκ ἔφη δίκαια ποιεῖν δεύτερον ἐπάγοντα μαχόμενον· ἀπελαύνοντος δὲ τοῦ Ὑπερόχου τὸν κύνα καὶ μεταστρεφομένου, λίθῳ βαλὼν ὁ Φήμιος ἀναιρεῖ. κτησάμενοι δὲ τὴν χώραν, τοὺς Ἰναχιεῖς C μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐκβαλόντες, τὸν μὲν λίθον ἐκεῖνον ὡς ἱερὸν σέβονται καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ ἱερείου τῷ δημῷ περικαλύπτουσιν. ὅταν δὲ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τὴν ἑκατόμβην ἀποδιδῶσι, τῷ Διὶ βοῦν καθιερεύσαντες, μερίδα τοῖς Τέμωνος ἀπογόνοις ἐξαίρετον νέμουσι, καὶ 'πτωχικὸν κρέας' ἐπονομάζουσι.

14. 'Τίνες οἱ παρ' Ἰθακησίοις Κολιάδαι καὶ τίς ὁ φάγιλος;'

τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ μετὰ τὴν μνηστηροφονίαν οἱ ἐπιτήδειοι τῶν τεθνηκότων ἐπανέστησαν. μεταπεμφθεὶς δ' ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων διαιτητὴς Νεοπτόλεμος ἐδικαίωσε τὸν μὲν Ὀδυσσέα μεταναστῆναι καὶ φεύγειν ἐκ τῆς Κεφαλληνίας καὶ Ζακύνθου καὶ D Ἰθάκης ἐφ' αἵματι, τοὺς δὲ τῶν μνηστήρων ἑταίρους καὶ οἰκείους ἀποφέρειν ποινὴν Ὀδυσσεῖ τῶν εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἀδικημάτων καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν εἰς Ἰταλίαν[1] μετέστη. τὴν δὲ ποινὴν τῷ υἱεῖ καθιερώσας ἀποφέρειν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς Ἰθακησίους. ἦν δὲ ἄλφιτα, οἶνος, κηρία, ἔλαιον, ἄλες, ἱερεῖα πρεσβύτερα φαγίλων. φάγιλον δέ φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης τὸν ἀμνὸν εἶναι. τοὺς δὲ περὶ Εὔμαιον ἐλευθερώσας ὁ Τηλέμαχος κατέμιξεν εἰς τοὺς πολίτας, καὶ τὸ γένος ἐστὶ Κολιαδῶν ἀπ' Εὐμαίου καὶ Βουκολιδῶν ἀπὸ Φιλοιτίου.

15. 'Τίς ἡ ξυλίνη κύων παρὰ Λοκροῖς;'

Φυσκίου τοῦ Ἀμφικτύονος υἱὸς ἦν Λοκρός· ἐκ δὲ τούτου E καὶ Καβύης Ὀποῦς·[2] πρὸς ὃν ὁ πατὴρ διενεχθεὶς καὶ συχνοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν ἀναλαβὼν περὶ ἀποικίας ἐμαντεύετο. τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ φήσαντος κτίζειν πόλιν ὅπουπερ ἂν τύχῃ δηχθεὶς ὑπὸ κυνὸς ξυλίνης, ὑπερβαίνων εἰς τὴν ἑτέραν θάλασσαν ἐπάτησε κυνόσβατον. ἐνοχληθεὶς δὲ τῇ πληγῇ διέτριψεν ἡμέρας αὐτόθι πλείονας, ἐν αἷς καταμαθὼν τὸ χωρίον ἔκτισε

[1] Ἰταλίαν] Αἰτωλίαν coni. Hartman, cf. p. 80.
[2] Ὀποῦς ex Eustath. *Il.* ii. 531, p. 277 corr. Valentinus Rose : Λοκρός MSS.

πόλεις Φυσκεῖς καὶ Τάντειαν,[1] καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ὅσας οἱ κλη-
F θέντες Ὀζόλαι Λοκροὶ κατῴκησαν.

Ὀζόλας δὲ Λοκροὺς οἱ μὲν διὰ τὸν Νέσσον, οἱ δὲ τὸν Πύθωνα δράκοντα κληθῆναι λέγουσιν, ἐκβρασθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάττης καὶ σαπέντας ἐν τῇ τῶν Λοκρῶν χώρᾳ· τινὲς δὲ κώδια καὶ τραγέας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φοροῦντας καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα συνόντας αἰπολίοις γενέσθαι δυσώδεις· ἔνιοι δὲ τούναντίον πολυάνθεμον τὴν χώραν οὖσαν ὑπ' εὐωδίας τοὔνομα λαβεῖν· ὧν ἐστι καὶ Ἀρχύτας ὁ Ἀμφισσεύς· γέγραφε γὰρ οὕτω·

295 A ‘τὴν βοτρυοστέφανον μυρίπνουν Μάκυναν ἐραννήν.’

16. ‘Τί τὸ καλούμενον ὑπὸ Μεγαρέων ἀφάβρωμα;’

Νίσος, ἀφ' οὗ προσηγορεύθη Νίσαια, βασιλεύων ἐκ Βοιωτίας ἔγημεν Ἀβρώτην Ὀγχήστου θυγατέρα, Μεγαρέως δὲ ἀδελφήν, γυναῖκα καὶ τῷ φρονεῖν, ὡς ἔοικε, περιττὴν καὶ σώφρονα διαφερόντως. ἀποθανούσης δὲ αὐτῆς, οἵ τε Μεγαρεῖς ἐπένθησαν ἑκουσίως καὶ ὁ Νίσος ἀϊδίαν τινὰ μνήμην καὶ δόξαν αὐτῆς καταστῆναι βουλόμενος ἔκελευε τὰς ἀστὰς[2] φορεῖν ἣν ἐκείνη στολὴν ἐφόρει, καὶ τὴν στολὴν ἀφάβρωμα
B δι' ἐκείνην ὠνόμασε. δοκεῖ δὲ τῇ δόξῃ τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ ὁ θεὸς βοηθῆσαι· πολλάκις γὰρ τὰς ἐσθῆτας ἀλλάξαι βουλομένας τὰς Μεγαρίδας χρησμῷ διεκώλυσε.

17. ‘Τίς ὁ δορύξενος;’

τὸ παλαιὸν ἡ Μεγαρὶς ᾠκεῖτο κατὰ κώμας, εἰς πέντε μέρη νενεμημένων τῶν πολιτῶν· ἐκαλοῦντο δὲ Ἡραεῖς καὶ Πιραεῖς καὶ Μεγαρεῖς καὶ Κυνοσουρεῖς καὶ Τριποδισκίοι.[3] τῶν δὲ Κορινθίων πόλεμον αὐτοῖς ἐξεργασαμένων πρὸς ἀλλήλους (ἀεὶ γὰρ ἐπεβούλευον ὑφ' αὑτοῖς ποιήσασθαι τὴν Μεγαρικήν), ὅμως δι' ἐπιείκειαν ἡμέρως ἐπολέμουν καὶ συγγενικῶς.
C τοὺς μὲν γὰρ γεωργοῦντας οὐδεὶς ἠδίκει τὸ παράπαν, τοὺς δ' ἁλισκομένους λύτρον τι τεταγμένον ἔδει καταβαλεῖν, καὶ τοῦτο ἐλάμβανον ἀφέντες· πρότερον δὲ οὐκ εἰσέπραττον, ἀλλ' ὁ λαβὼν αἰχμάλωτον ἀπῆγεν οἴκαδε, καὶ μεταδοὺς ἁλῶν καὶ τραπέζης ἀπέπεμπεν οἴκαδε. ὁ μὲν οὖν τὰ λύτρα κομίσας ἐπῃνεῖτο καὶ φίλος ἀεὶ διετέλει τοῦ λαβόντος, ἐκ δορυαλώτου δορύξενος προσαγορευόμενος. ὁ δ' ἀποστερήσας

[1] Τάντειαν Bern : Τάνθειαν MSS. et Wytt.
[2] τὰς ἀστὰς Bryanus : τὰ ὀστᾶ uulgo : τὰς Μεγαρίδας Wytt., auctoritate codicum Voss. et P.
[3] Τριποδισκίοι Herwerden : Τριποδισκαῖοι MSS.

οὐ μόνον παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις ὡς ἄδικος καὶ ἄπιστος ἠδόξει.

18. 'Τίς ἡ παλιντοκία;'

Μεγαρεῖς Θεαγένη τὸν τύραννον ἐκβαλόντες ὀλίγον χρόνον ἐσωφρόνησαν κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν· εἶτα πολλὴν κατὰ D Πλάτωνα καὶ ἄκρατον αὐτοῖς ἐλευθερίαν τῶν δημαγωγῶν οἰνοχοούντων, διαφθαρέντες παντάπασι τά τε ἄλλα τοῖς πλουσίοις ἀσελγῶς προσεφέροντο, καὶ παριόντες εἰς τὰς οἰκίας αὐτῶν οἱ πένητες ἠξίουν ἑστιᾶσθαι καὶ δειπνεῖν πολυτελῶς· εἰ δὲ μὴ τυγχάνοιεν, πρὸς βίαν καὶ μεθ' ὕβρεως ἐχρῶντο πᾶσι. τέλος δὲ δόγμα θέμενοι, τοὺς τόκους ἀνεπράττοντο παρὰ τῶν δανειστῶν οὓς δεδωκότες ἐτύγχανον, παλιντοκίαν τὸ γιγνόμενον προσαγορεύσαντες.

19. 'Τίς ἡ Ἀνθηδών, περὶ ἧς ἡ Πυθιὰς εἶπε

"πῖν' οἶνον τρυγίαν, ἐπεὶ οὐκ Ἀνθηδόνα ναίεις," E

ἡ γὰρ ἐν Βοιωτοῖς οὐκ ἔστι πολύοινος;'

τὴν Καλαύρειαν Εἰρήνην τὸ παλαιὸν ὠνόμαζον ἀπὸ γυναικὸς Εἰρήνης, ἣν ἐκ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Μελανθείας τῆς Ἀλφειοῦ γενέσθαι μυθολογοῦσιν. ὕστερον δὲ τῶν περὶ Ἄνθην καὶ Ὑπέρην αὐτόθι κατοικούντων, Ἀνθηδονίαν καὶ Ὑπέρειαν ἐκάλουν τὴν νῆσον. εἶχε δὲ ὁ χρησμὸς οὕτως, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης φησί,

'πῖν' οἶνον τρυγίαν, ἐπεὶ οὐκ Ἀνθηδόνα ναίεις
οὐδ' ἱερὰν Ὑπέραν, ὅθι κ'[1] ἄτρυγον οἶνον ἔπινες.'

ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης. ὁ δὲ Μνασιγείτων φησὶν Ὑπέρης F ἀδελφὸν ὄντα τὸν Ἄνθον ἔτι νήπιον ἀπολέσθαι καὶ τὴν Ὑπέρην κατὰ ζήτησιν αὐτοῦ πλανωμένην εἰς Φερὰς πρὸς Ἄκαστον[2] ἐλθεῖν, ὅπου κατὰ τύχην ὁ Ἄνθος ἐδούλευεν οἰνοχοεῖν τεταγμένος· ὡς οὖν εἱστιῶντο, τὸν παῖδα προσφέροντα τῇ ἀδελφῇ τὸ ποτήριον ἐπιγνῶναι καὶ εἰπεῖν πρὸς αὐτὴν ἡσυχῇ

'πῖν' οἶνον τρυγίαν, ἐπεὶ οὐκ Ἀνθηδόνα ναίεις.'

20. 'Τίς ὁ λεγόμενος ἐν Πριήνῃ παρὰ δρυὶ σκότος;'

Σάμιοι καὶ Πριηνεῖς πολεμοῦντες ἀλλήλοις, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα 296 A μετρίως ἐβλάπτοντο καὶ ἔβλαπτον, μάχης δὲ μεγάλης γενομένης, χιλίους Σαμίων οἱ Πριηνεῖς ἀπέκτειναν· ἑβδόμῳ δ' ὕστερον ἔτει Μιλησίοις συμβαλόντες παρὰ τὴν καλουμένην

[1] ὅθι κ' Hartman, cf. *Mnemosyne*, xli, p. 217 : ὅθι γ' uulgo.
[2] Ἄκαστον Bryanus : ἄκαστον ἢ ἄδραστον MSS.

δρῦν τοὺς ἀρίστους ὁμοῦ τι καὶ πρώτους ἀπέβαλον τῶν πολιτῶν· ὅτε καὶ Βίας ὁ σοφὸς εἰς Σάμον ἐκ Πριήνης πρεσβεύσας εὐδοκίμησε. ταῖς δὲ Πριηνέων γυναιξὶν ὠμοῦ[1] τοῦ πάθους τούτου καὶ τῆς συμφορᾶς ἐλεεινῆς γενομένης, ἀρὰ κατέστη καὶ ὅρκος ὁ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων 'ὁ παρὰ δρυὶ σκότος' διὰ τὸ
B παῖδας αὐτῶν καὶ πατέρας καὶ ἄνδρας ἐκεῖ φονευθῆναι.

21. 'Τίνες οἱ παρὰ Κρησὶ λεγόμενοι κατακαῦται;'

Τυρρηνούς φασι τοὺς τὰς Ἀθηναίων θυγατέρας καὶ γυναῖκας ἐκ Βραύρωνος ἁρπάσαντας, ὀπηνίκα Λῆμνον καὶ Ἴμβρον κατῴκουν, εἶτα ἐκπεσόντας εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἀφικέσθαι καὶ γενέσθαι ἐπιμιξίαν αὐτοῖς μέχρι παίδων γενέσεως πρὸς τὰς ἐγχωρίους γυναῖκας· ἐκ δ' ὑποψίας καὶ διαβολῆς πάλιν ἀναγκασθέντας ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν Λακωνικὴν μετὰ παίδων καὶ
C γυναικῶν εἰς Κρήτην κατᾶραι, Πόλλιν ἡγεμόνα καὶ Δελφὸν ἔχοντας. ἐκεῖ δὲ πολεμοῦντας τοῖς κατέχουσι τὴν Κρήτην, πολλοὺς περιορᾶν τῶν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀποθνησκόντων ἀτάφους, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀσχόλους διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ὄντας καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον, ὕστερον δὲ φεύγοντας ἅπτεσθαι νεκρῶν ἐφθαρμένων ὑπὸ χρόνου καὶ διερρυηκότων· τὸν οὖν Πόλλιν ἐξευρόντα τιμάς τινας καὶ προνομίας καὶ ἀτελείας ἀποδοῦναι τὰς μὲν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τῶν θεῶν, τὰς δὲ τοῖς ταφεῦσι τῶν τετελευτηκότων, ἐπιφημίσαντα καὶ ταύτας δαίμοσι χθονίοις, ὅπως
D ἀναφαίρετοι διαμένοιεν· [2] ὀνομασθῆναι δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἱερεῖς, τοὺς δὲ κατακαύτας. εἶτα κλήρῳ διαλαχεῖν πρὸς τὸν Δελφὸν καὶ πολιτεύεσθαι μὲν αὐτοὺς καθ' αὑτούς, ἔχειν δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων φιλανθρώπων καὶ ἄδειαν ἀδικημάτων, οἷς οἱ ἄλλοι Κρῆτες εἰώθασι χρῆσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἄγοντες λαθραίως καὶ ἀποφέροντες· ἐκείνους γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀδικεῖν οὐδὲ κλέπτειν οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἁφαιρεῖσθαι.

22. 'Τίς ὁ παίδων τάφος παρὰ Χαλκιδεῦσι;'

Κόθος καὶ Αἶκλος οἱ Ξούθου παῖδες εἰς Εὔβοιαν ἦκον οἰκήσοντες, Αἰολέων τότε τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς νήσου κατεχόντων. ἦν δὲ τῷ Κόθῳ λόγιον εὖ πράξειν καὶ περιέσεσθαι τῶν πολεμίων ἐὰν πρίηται τὴν χώραν. ἀποβὰς οὖν μετ' ὀλίγων ἐνέτυχε παίζουσι παιδαρίοις παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν· συμπαίζων
E οὖν αὐτοῖς καὶ φιλοφρονούμενος, ἔδειξε παίγνια πολλὰ τῶν ξενικῶν· ὡς δὲ ἑώρα τοὺς παῖδας ἐπιθυμοῦντας λαβεῖν, οὐκ

[1] ὠμοῦ Madvig : ὁμοῦ MSS. et Wytt.
[2] Sententias transposui; cf. p. 109.

ἔφησεν αὐτοῖς δώσειν ἄλλως, εἰ μὴ τῆς γῆς λάβοι παρ' αὐτῶν· οἱ δὲ παῖδες αὔτως[1] ἀναιρούμενοι χαμαῖθεν ἐδίδοσαν, καὶ τὰ παίγνια λαβόντες ἀπηλλάγησαν. οἱ δὲ Αἰολεῖς αἰσθόμενοι τὸ γεγονός, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων αὐτοῖς ἐπιπλεόντων, ὑπ' ὀργῆς καὶ λύπης διεχρήσαντο τοὺς παῖδας. ἐτάφησαν δὲ παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ᾗ βαδίζουσιν ἐκ πόλεως ἐπὶ τὸν Εὔριπον, καὶ ὁ τόπος τάφος παίδων καλεῖται.

23. 'Τίς ὁ μιξαρχαγέτας ἐν Ἄργει καὶ τίνες οἱ ἐλάσιοι;'

μιξαρχαγέταν τὸν Κάστορα καλοῦσι καὶ νομίζουσι παρ' F
αὐτοῖς τεθάφθαι, τὸν δὲ Πολυδεύκην ὡς ἕνα τῶν Ὀλυμπίων σέβονται. τοὺς δὲ τὰς ἐπιληψίας ἀποτρέπειν δοκοῦντας ἐλασίους μὲν ὀνομάζουσι, δοκοῦσι δὲ τῶν Ἀλεξίδας τῆς Ἀμφιαράου θυγατρὸς ἀπογόνων εἶναι.

24. 'Τί τὸ παρ' Ἀργείοις λεγόμενον ἔγκνισμα;'

τοῖς ἀποβαλοῦσί τινα συγγενῶν ἢ συνήθων ἔθος ἐστὶ μετὰ τὸ πένθος εὐθὺς †τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι†[2] θύειν, ἡμέραις δὲ ὕστερον τριάκοντα τῷ Ἑρμῇ. νομίζουσι γάρ, ὥσπερ τὰ σώματα τῶν ἀποθανόντων δέχεσθαι τὴν γῆν, οὕτω τὰς ψυχὰς τὸν Ἑρμῆν· τοῦ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος τῷ ἀμφιπόλῳ κριθὰς διδόντες 297 A
λαμβάνουσι κρέας τοῦ ἱερείου, καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἀποσβέσαντες ὡς μεμιασμένον παρ' ἑτέρων δὲ ἐναυσάμενοι, τοῦτο τὸ κρέας ὀπτῶσιν, ἔγκνισμα προσαγορεύοντες.

25. 'Τίς ἀλάστωρ, ἀλιτήριος, παλαμναῖος;'

οὐ γὰρ πειστέον τοῖς λέγουσι ἀλιτηρίους κεκλῆσθαι τοὺς ἐπιτηροῦντας ἐν τῷ λιμῷ τὸν ἀλοῦντα καὶ διαρπάζοντας· ἀλλὰ ἀλάστωρ μὲν κέκληται ὁ ἄληστα καὶ πολὺν χρόνον μνημονευθησόμενα δεδρακώς· ἀλιτήριος δὲ ὃν ἀλεύασθαι καὶ φυλάξασθαι διὰ μοχθηρίαν καλῶς εἶχε. ταῦτα, φησὶν ὁ Σωκράτης, ἐν διφθέραις χαλκαῖς γεγράφασι.

26. 'τίνος ἔχεται διανοίας τὸ τοὺς ἀπάγοντας εἰς Κασσιο- B
παίαν τὸν βοῦν ἐξ Αἰνιάνων[3] τὰς παρθένους[4] προπεμπούσας ἐπᾴδειν ἄχρι τῶν ὅρων

"μήποτε νοστήσαιτε φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν";'

Αἰνιᾶνες ὑπὸ Λαπιθῶν ἐξαναστάντες τὸ πρῶτον ᾤκησαν

[1] αὔτως coni. H. J. Rose : οὕτως MSS.
[2] nomen dei corruptum uidetur, cf. p. 121.
[3] Αἰνιάνων Wytt. : Αἰνίας Bern. : Αἴνου MSS.
[4] τὰς παρθένους uulg. : καὶ τὰς παρθένους Wytt. ex E.

περὶ τὴν Αἰθακίαν, εἶτα περὶ τὴν Μολοσσίδα καὶ Κασσιοπαίαν· οὐδὲν δὲ χρηστὸν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ἔχοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ χαλεποῖς χρώμενοι προσοίκοις, εἰς τὸ Κιρραῖον πεδίον ἦκον,
C Οἰνόκλου[1] τοῦ βασιλέως ἄγοντος αὐτούς. ἐκεῖ δὲ μεγάλων αὐχμῶν γενομένων, κατὰ χρησμόν, ὡς λέγεται, τὸν Οἴνοκλον καταλεύσαντες καὶ πάλιν πλανηθέντες, εἰς ταύτην ἀφίκοντο τὴν χώραν, ἣν νῦν ἔχουσιν, ἀγαθὴν καὶ πάμφορον οὖσαν. ὅθεν εἰκότως εὔχονται τοῖς θεοῖς εἰς τὴν παλαιὰν πατρίδα μὴ ἐπανελθεῖν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ καταμένειν εὐδαιμονοῦντας.

27. 'Τί δήποτε παρὰ Ῥοδίοις εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ὀκριδίωνος ἡρῷον οὐκ εἰσέρχεται κῆρυξ;'

ἢ ὅτι Ὄχιμος τὴν θυγατέρα Κυδίππην ἐνεγγύησεν Ὀκριδίωνι; Κέρκαφος δὲ ἀδελφὸς ὢν Ὀχίμου τῆς δὲ παιδὸς ἐρῶν, ἔπεισε τὸν κήρυκα (διὰ κηρύκων γὰρ ἔθος ἦν τὸ μετέρχεσθαι τὰς νύμφας) ὅταν παραλάβῃ τὴν Κυδίππην, πρὸς ἑαυτὸν
D ἀγαγεῖν· τοῦτου δὲ πραχθέντος ὁ μὲν Κέρκαφος ἔχων τὴν κόρην ἔφυγεν, ὕστερον δὲ τοῦ Ὀχίμου γηράσαντος ἐπανῆλθε· τοῖς δὲ Ῥοδίοις ἔθος κατέστη κήρυκα μὴ προσιέναι τῷ τοῦ Ὀκριδίωνος ἡρῴῳ διὰ τὴν γενομένην ἀδικίαν.

28. 'Τί δήποτε παρὰ Τενεδίοις εἰς τὸ τοῦ Τένου ἱερὸν οὐκ ἔξεστιν αὐλητὴν εἰσελθεῖν οὐδ' Ἀχιλλέως ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ μνησθῆναι;'

ἢ ὅτι τῆς μητρυιᾶς τὸν Τέννην διαβαλλούσης ὡς βουλόμενον αὐτῇ συγγενέσθαι Μόλπος ὁ αὐλητὴς τὰ ψευδῆ κατε-
E μαρτύρησεν αὐτοῦ, διὰ τοῦτο τῷ Τέννῃ συνέπεσε φεύγειν εἰς Τένεδον μετὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς; Ἀχιλλεῖ δὲ λέγεται τὴν μητέρα Θέτιν ἰσχυρῶς ἀπαγορεῦσαι[2] μὴ ἀνελεῖν τὸν Τέννην ὡς τιμώμενον ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος, καὶ παρεγγυῆσαι ἑνὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν, ὅπως προσέχῃ καὶ ἀναμιμνήσκῃ, μὴ λάθοι κτείνας ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς τὸν Τέννην. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν Τένεδον κατατρέχων ἐδίωκε τὴν ἀδελφὴν τοῦ Τένου καλὴν οὖσαν ἀπαντήσας τε ὁ Τέννης
F ἠμύνετο πρὸ τῆς ἀδελφῆς, καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐξέφυγεν, ὁ δὲ Τέννης ἀνῃρέθη. ὁ δ' Ἀχιλλεὺς πεσόντα γνωρίσας,[3] τὸν μὲν οἰκέτην ἀπέκτεινεν ὅτι παρὼν οὐκ ἀνέμνησε· τὸν δὲ Τέννην ἔθαψεν, οὗ νῦν τὸ ἱερόν ἐστι, καὶ οὔτε αὐλητὴς εἴσεισιν οὔτε Ἀχιλλεὺς ὀνομάζεται.

[1] Οἰνόκλου, cf. *Quaest. Graec.* 13 : Ὀνόκλου hic et infra MSS. et Wytt.
[2] ἀπαγορεῦσαι Voss. : ἀγορεῦσαι MSS.
[3] πεσόντα γνωρίσας uulg. : πέσοντα τοῦτον ἐγνώρισε Wytt. ex E.

29. ‘Τίς ὁ παρ’ Ἐπιδαμνίοις πωλήτης;’

Ἐπιδάμνιοι γειτνιῶντες Ἰλλυριοῖς ᾐσθάνοντο τοὺς ἐπιμιγνυμένους αὐτοῖς πολίτας γιγνομένους πονηροὺς καὶ φοβούμενοι νεωτερισμὸν ᾑροῦντο πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα συμβόλαια καὶ τὰς ἀμείψεις καθ’ ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἕνα τῶν δεδοκιμασμένων παρ’ αὐτοῖς, ὃς ἐπιφοιτῶν τοῖς βαρβάροις παρεῖχεν ἀγορὰν 298 A
καὶ διάθεσιν πᾶσι τοῖς πολίταις πωλήτης προσαγορευόμενος.

30. ‘Τίς ἡ περὶ Θρᾴκην Ἀραίνου ἀκτή;’

Ἄνδριοι καὶ Χαλκιδεῖς πλεύσαντες εἰς Θρᾴκην οἰκήσεως ἕνεκα Σάνην μὲν πόλιν ἐκ προδοσίας κοινῇ παρέλαβον, τὴν δὲ Ἄκανθον ἐκλελοιπέναι τοὺς βαρβάρους πυνθανόμενοι, δύο κατασκόπους ἔπεμψαν. ὡς δὲ τῇ πόλει προσιόντες παντάπασι πεφευγότας ᾐσθάνοντο τοὺς πολεμίους, ὁ μὲν Χαλκιδικὸς προεξέδραμεν ὡς καταληψόμενος τοῖς Χαλκιδεῦσι τὴν πόλιν· ὁ δὲ Ἄνδριος οὐ συνεξανύτων ἠκόντισε τὸ δόρυ καὶ ταῖς πύλαις ἐμπαρέντος μέγα βοήσας [1] Ἀνδρίων ἔφη παισὶν αἰχμῇ προκατειλῆφθαι τὴν πόλιν. ἐκ τούτου διαφορᾶς γενο- B
μένης, ἄνευ πολέμου συνέβησαν Ἐρυθραίοις καὶ Σαμίοις καὶ Παρίοις χρήσασθαι περὶ πάντων δικασταῖς. ἐπεὶ δ’ οἱ μὲν Ἐρυθραῖοι καὶ οἱ Σάμιοι τὴν ψῆφον Ἀνδρίοις ἤνεγκαν, οἱ δὲ Πάριοι Χαλκιδεῦσιν, ἀρὰς ἔθεντο περὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον οἱ Ἄνδριοι κατ’ αὐτῶν μήτε δοῦναι γυναῖκα Παρίοις μήτε λαβεῖν παρ’ αὐτῶν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο προσηγόρευσαν ἀκτὴν Ἀραίνου, πρότερον ὀνομαζομένην Δράκοντος.

31. ‘Διὰ τί τοῖς Θεσμοφορίοις αἱ τῶν Ἐρετριέων γυναῖκες οὐ πρὸς πῦρ ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἥλιον ὀπτῶσι τὰ κρέα, καὶ Καλλιγένειαν οὐ καλοῦσιν;’

ἢ ὅτι ταῖς αἰχμαλώτοις, ἃς ἦγεν ἐκ Τροίας Ἀγαμέμνων, C
ἐνταῦθα συνέβη Θεσμοφόρια θύειν, πλοῦ δὲ φανέντος, ἐξαίφνης ἀνήχθησαν ἀτελῆ τὴν θυσίαν καταλιποῦσαι;

32. ‘Τίνες οἱ ἀειναῦται παρὰ Μιλησίοις;’

τῶν περὶ Θόαντα καὶ Δαμασήνορα τυράννων καταλυθέντων, ἑταιρεῖαι δύο τὴν πόλιν κατέσχον, ὧν ἡ μὲν ἐκαλεῖτο Πλουτίς,[2] ἡ δὲ Χειρομάχα. κρατήσαντες οὖν οἱ δυνατοὶ καὶ τὰ πράγματα περιστήσαντες εἰς τὴν ἑταιρείαν, ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἐμβαίνοντες εἰς τὰ πλοῖα καὶ πόρρω τῆς

[1] *μέγα βοήσας* Patzig; *μετὰ βοῆς* E: *μετὰ βολῆς* MSS.
[2] Πλουτίς in commentario corr. Wytt.: Πλοντίς MSS.

γῆς ἐπανάγοντες· κυρώσαντες δὲ τὴν γνώμην κατέπλεον, καὶ
D διὰ τοῦτο ἀειναῦται προσηγορεύθησαν.

33 'Τί δήποτε Χαλκιδεῖς τὸν περὶ τὸ Πυρσόφιον τόπον Ἀκμαίων Λέσχην καλοῦσι;'

τὸν Ναύπλιόν φασιν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν διωκόμενον Χαλκιδεῖς ἱκετεῦσαι, καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τῆς αἰτίας ἀπολογεῖσθαι, τὰ δ' αὐτὸν ἀντεγκαλεῖν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς. ἐκδιδόναι μὲν αὐτὸν οἱ Χαλκιδεῖς οὐκ ἐμέλλησαν· δεδιότες δὲ μὴ δόλῳ φονευθῇ, φυλακὴν ἔδοσαν αὐτῷ τοὺς ἀκμάζοντας νεανίσκους καὶ κατέστησαν εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦτον, ὅπου συνῆσαν ἀλλήλοις ἅμα καὶ τὸν Ναύπλιον παρεφύλαττον.

E 34. 'Τίς ὁ βοῦν εὐεργέτῃ θύσας;'

πλοῖον ὥρμει περὶ τὴν Ἰθακησίαν λῃστρικόν, ἐν ᾧ πρεσβύτης ἐτύγχανε μετὰ κεραμίων ἐχόντων πίτταν. τούτῳ οὖν[1] κατὰ τύχην προσέσχε πορθμεὺς Ἰθακήσιος ὀνόματι Πυρρίας, καὶ τὸν πρεσβύτην ἐρρύσατο μηδενὸς δεόμενος, ἀλλὰ πεισθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ οἰκτείρας· προσέλαβε δὲ καὶ τῶν κεραμίων, τοῦ πρεσβύτου κελεύσαντος. ἀπαλλαγέντων δὲ τῶν λῃστῶν καὶ γενομένης ἀδείας, ὁ πρεσβύτης τοῖς κεραμίοις τὸν Πυρρίαν προσαγαγὼν χρυσίον ἐδείκνυεν ἐν αὐτοῖς
F πολὺ καὶ ἀργύριον τῇ πίττῃ καταμεμιγμένον· ἐξαίφνης οὖν ὁ Πυρρίας πλούσιος γενόμενος τά τε ἄλλα εὖ περιεῖπε τὸν γέροντα καὶ βοῦν ἔθυσεν αὐτῷ. ὃ καὶ παροιμιαζόμενοι λέγουσιν, 'οὐδεὶς εὐεργέτῃ βοῦν ἔθυσεν ἀλλ' ἢ Πυρρίας.'

35. 'Τί δήποτε ταῖς κόραις τῶν Βοττιαίων ἔθος ἦν λέγειν χορευούσαις "ἴωμεν εἰς Ἀθήνας";'

Κρῆτας φασὶν εὐξαμένους ἀνθρώπων ἀπαρχὴν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀποστεῖλαι, τοὺς δὲ πεμφθέντας, ὡς ἑώρων οὐδεμίαν οὖσαν εὐ-
299 A πορίαν, αὐτόθεν εἰς ἀποικίαν ὁρμῆσαι· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐν Ἰαπυγίᾳ κατοικεῖν, ἔπειτα τῆς Θρᾴκης τοῦτον τὸν τόπον κατασχεῖν, ἀναμεμιγμένων αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναίων. ἔοικε γὰρ μὴ διαφθείρειν ὁ Μίνως οὓς ἔπεμπον Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ τὸν δασμὸν ἠθέους, ἀλλὰ κατέχειν παρ' ἑαυτῷ λατρεύοντας. ἐξ ἐκείνων οὖν τινες γεγονότες καὶ νομιζόμενοι Κρῆτες εἰς Δελφοὺς συναπεστάλησαν. ὅθεν αἱ θυγατέρες τῶν Βοττιαίων ἀπο-

[1] πίτταν. τούτῳ οὖν Wytt. : πίτταν. τούτῳ τὸν νοῦν Bern. : πίττας. ταύτῃ οὖν MSS.

μνημονεύουσαι τοῦ γένους ἥδον ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς, 'ἴωμεν εἰς Ἀθήνας.'

36. 'Διὰ τί τὸν Διόνυσον αἱ τῶν Ἠλείων γυναῖκες ὑμνοῦσαι παρακαλοῦσι βοέῳ ποδὶ παραγίγνεσθαι πρὸς αὐτάς; ἔχει δ' οὕτως ὁ ὕμνος, "ἐλθεῖν ἦρ', ὦ Διόνυσε,[1] ἅλιον[2] ἐς ναὸν B ἁγνόν, σὺν χαρίτεσσι [ἐς ναὸν] τῷ βοέῳ ποδὶ θύων." εἶτα δὶς ἐπᾴδουσιν, "ἄξιε ταῦρε".'

πότερον ὅτι καὶ βουγενῆ προσαγορεύουσι καὶ ταῦρον ἔνιοι τὸν θεόν; ἢ τῷ μεγάλῳ ποδὶ βοέῳ λέγουσιν, ὡς βοῶπιν ὁ ποιητὴς τὴν μεγαλόφθαλμον, καὶ βουγάϊον τὸν μεγάλαυχον. ἢ μᾶλλον ὅτι τοῦ βοὸς ὁ ποὺς ἀβλαβής ἐστι, τὸ δὲ κερασφόρον[3] ἐπιβλαβές, οὕτω τὸν θεὸν παρακαλοῦσι πρᾶον ἐλθεῖν καὶ ἄλυπον; ἢ ὅτι καὶ ἀρότου[4] καὶ σπόρου πολλοὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀρχηγὸν γεγονέναι νομίζουσι;

37. 'Διὰ τί Ταναγραίοις πρὸ τῆς πόλεώς ἐστιν Ἀχίλλειον, C τόπος οὕτω προσαγορευόμενος; ἔχθρα γὰρ αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἢ φιλία λέγεται γεγονέναι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ἁρπάσαντι μὲν τὴν μητέρα τοῦ Ποιμάνδρου Στρατονίκην, ἀποκτείναντι δὲ υἱὸν Ἀκέστορα.'[5]

Ποίμανδρος τοίνυν, ὁ Ἐφίππου πατήρ, ἔτι τῆς Ταναγρικῆς κατὰ κώμας οἰκουμένης ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ Στέφοντι πολιορκούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν διὰ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι συστρατεύειν, ἐξέλιπε τὸ χωρίον ἐκεῖνο νύκτωρ καὶ τὴν Ποιμάνδριαν ἐτείχισε. παρὼν δὲ Πολύκριθος ὁ ἀρχιτέκτων διαφαυλίζων τὰ ἔργα καὶ καταγελῶν ὑπερήλατο τὴν τάφρον. ὀργισθεὶς ὁ Ποίμανδρος D ὥρμησε λίθον ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτῷ μέγαν, ὃς ἦν αὐτόθι κεκρυμμένος ἐκ παλαίου, νυκτελίοις ἱεροῖς ἐπικείμενος·[6] τοῦτον ἀνασπάσας ὑπὸ ἀγνοίας ὁ Ποίμανδρος ἔβαλε, καὶ τοῦ μὲν Πολυκρίθου διήμαρτε, Λεύκιππον δὲ τὸν υἱὸν ἀπέκτεινεν. ἔδει μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἐκ τῆς Βοιωτίας μεταστῆναι, ἐφέστιον καὶ ἱκέτην ξένον γενόμενον· οὐκ ἦν δὲ ῥᾴδιον, ἐμβεβληκότων εἰς τὴν Ταναγρικὴν[7] τῶν Ἀχαιῶν. ἔπεμψεν

[1] ἐλθεῖν ἦρ', ὦ Διονύσε, A. B. Cook: ἐλθεῖν ἥρῳ Διόνυσε MSS.; cf. p. 157.
[2] ἅλιον] Ἀλείων Bergk.
[3] κερασφόρον] κέρας σφοδρὸν καὶ Patzig: κέρας φοβερὸν καὶ conj. Bern.
[4] ἀρότου Wytt.: ἀρότρου MSS.
[5] Ἐφίππου Ἀκέστορα MSS. et Wytt.: sed in commentariis Ἐφίππου delendum recte monuit Wytt.
[6] ἐπικείμενος Bern. et Xylander: ἀποκείμενος Wytt.
[7] Ταναγρικὴν Bern.: Ταναγραϊκὴν Wytt.

οὖν Ἔφιππον τὸν υἱὸν Ἀχιλλέως δεησόμενον. ὁ δὲ καὶ τοῦτον εἰσάγει πείσας καὶ Τληπόλεμον τὸν Ἡρακλέους καὶ Πηνέλεων τὸν Ἰππάλκμου, συγγενεῖς ἅπαντας αὐτῷ[1] ὄντας·
E ὑφ' ὧν ὁ Ποίμανδρος εἰς Χαλκίδα συνεκπεμφθεὶς καὶ καθαρθεὶς παρ' Ἐλεφήνορι τὸν φόνον, ἐτίμησε τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ τεμένη πᾶσιν ἐξεῖλεν, ὧν τὸ Ἀχιλλέως καὶ τοὔνομα διατετήρηκεν.

38. 'Τίνες οἱ παρὰ Βοιωτοῖς Ψολόεις καὶ τίνες αἱ Ὀλεῖαι;'[2] τὰς Μινύου θυγατέρας φασὶ Λευκίππην καὶ Ἀρσινόην καὶ Ἀλκαθόην μανείσας ἀνθρωπίνων ἐπιθυμῆσαι κρεῶν καὶ διαλαχεῖν περὶ τῶν τέκνων· Λευκίππης λαχούσης, παρασχεῖν Ἵππασον τὸν υἱὸν διασπάσασθαι· καὶ κληθῆναι τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας αὐτῶν δυσειματοῦντας ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ πένθους Ψολόεις,
F αὐτὰς δὲ Ὀλείας, οἷον ὀλοάς.[3] καὶ μέχρι νῦν Ὀρχομένιοι τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους οὕτω καλοῦσι. καὶ γίγνεται παρ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς Ἀγριωνίοις φυγὴ καὶ δίωξις αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱερέως τοῦ Διονύσου ξίφος ἔχοντος. ἔξεστι δὲ τὴν καταληφθεῖσαν ἀνελεῖν, καὶ ἀνεῖλεν ἐφ' ἡμῶν Ζωίλος ὁ ἱερεύς· ἀπέβη δὲ εἰς
300 A οὐδὲν χρηστὸν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ὅ τε Ζωίλος ἐκ τοῦ τυχόντος ἑλκειδίου νοσήσας καὶ διασαπεὶς πολὺν χρόνον ἐτελεύτησεν, οἵ τε Ὀρχομένιοι δημοσίαις βλάβαις καὶ καταδίκαις περιπεσόντες, ἐκ τοῦ γένους τὴν ἱερωσύνην μετέστησαν, ἐκ πάντων αἱρούμενοι τὸν ἄριστον.

39. 'Διὰ τί τοὺς εἰς τὸ Λύκαιον εἰσελθόντας ἑκουσίως καταλεύουσιν οἱ Ἀρκάδες· ἂν δ' ὑπ' ἀγνοίας, εἰς Ἐλευθερὰς ἀποστέλλουσι;'

πότερον ὡς ἐλευθερουμένων αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν ἔσχεν ὁ λόγος πίστιν, καὶ τοιοῦτόν ἐστι τό 'εἰς Ἐλευθεράς,' οἷον τό 'εἰς Ἀμελοῦς χώραν' καὶ τό 'ἥξεις εἰς Ἀρέσαντος ἔδος'; ἢ
B κατὰ τὸν μῦθον, ἐπεὶ μόνοι τῶν Λυκάωνος παίδων Ἐλευθὴρ καὶ Λεβεάδος οὐ μετέσχον τοῦ περὶ τὸν Δία μιάσματος ἀλλ' εἰς Βοιωτίαν ἔφυγον καὶ Λεβαδεῦσιν ἔστιν ἰσοπολιτεία πρὸς Ἀρκάδας; εἰς Ἐλευθέρας οὖν ἀποπέμπουσι τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἀβάτῳ τοῦ Διὸς ἀκουσίως γενομένους. ἢ, ὡς Ἀρχίτιμος ἐν τοῖς Ἀρκαδικοῖς, ἐμβάντας τινὰς κατ' ἄγνοιαν ὑπὸ Ἀρκάδων παραδοθῆναι[4] Φλιασίοις, ὑπὸ δὲ Φλιασίων Μεγαρεῦσιν, ἐκ δὲ

[1] αὐτῷ Xyl. et Wytt. ex E : αὐτῶν uulg. et Bern.
[2] αἱ Ὀλεῖαι Mez. : Αἰολεῖαι MSS.; cf. p. 167.
[3] Ὀλείας, οἷον ὀλοάς Mez. : τὰς Αἰολείας οἰωνολόας MSS.
[4] παραδοθῆναι uulg. : E. φησί praeponit : φησιν ὑπ' Ἀρκάδων παραδοθῆναι Bern.

Μεγαρέων εἰς Θήβας κομιζομένους περὶ τὰς Ἐλευθέρας, ὕδατι καὶ βρονταῖς καὶ διοσημίαις ἄλλαις κατασχεθῆναι· ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ τὸν τόπον Ἐλευθέρας ἔνιοί φασι προσαγορεύεσθαι. τὸ μέντοι σκιὰν μὴ πίπτειν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐμβάντος εἰς C τὸ Λύκαιον λέγεται μὲν οὐκ ἀληθῶς, ἔσχηκε[1] δὲ πίστιν ἰσχυράν. πότερον τοῦ ἀέρος εἰς νέφη τρεπομένου καὶ σκυθρωπάζοντος ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰσιοῦσιν; ἢ ὅτι θανατοῦται μὲν ὁ ἐμβάς, τῶν δὲ ἀποθανόντων οἱ Πυθαγορικοὶ λέγουσι τὰς ψυχὰς μὴ ποιεῖν σκιὰν μηδὲ σκαρδαμύττειν; ἢ σκιὰν μὲν ὁ ἥλιος ποιεῖ, τὸν δὲ ἥλιον ἀφαιρεῖται τοῦ ἐμβάντος ὁ νόμος; καὶ τοῦτο αἰνιττόμενοι λέγουσι. καὶ γὰρ ἔλαφος ὁ ἐμβὰς καλεῖται. διὸ καὶ Κανθαρίωνα τὸν Ἀρκάδα πρὸς Ἠλείους αὐτομολήσαντα πολεμοῦντας Ἀρκάσι καὶ διαβάντα μετὰ λείας τὸ ἄβατον, καταλυθέντος δὲ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ φυγόντα εἰς Σπάρτην, D ἐξέδοσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς Ἀρκάσι, τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος ἀποδιδόναι τὸν ἔλαφον.

40. 'Τίς Εὔνοστος ἥρως ἐν Τανάγρᾳ καὶ διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν τὸ ἄλσος αὐτοῦ γυναιξὶν ἀνέμβατόν ἐστιν;'

Ἐλιέως τοῦ Κηφισοῦ καὶ Σκιάδος Εὔνοστος ἦν υἱός, ᾧ φασιν ὑπὸ νύμφης Εὐνόστας ἐκτραφέντι τοῦτο γενέσθαι τοὔνομα. καλὸς δὲ ὢν καὶ δίκαιος οὐχ ἧττον ἦν σώφρων καὶ αὐστηρός· ἐρασθῆναι δὲ αὐτοῦ λέγουσιν Ὄχναν, μίαν τῶν Κολωνοῦ θυγατέρων, ἀνεψιὰν οὖσαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ πειρῶσαν ὁ E Εὔνοστος ἀπετρέψατο καὶ λοιδορήσας ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς κατηγορήσων, ἔφθασεν ἡ παρθένος τοῦτο πράξασα κατ' ἐκείνου καὶ παρώξυνε τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς Ὄχεμον καὶ Λέοντα καὶ Βουκόλον ἀποκτεῖναι Εὔνοστον, ὡς πρὸς βίαν αὐτῇ συγγεγενημένον. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν ἐνεδρεύσαντες ἀπέκτειναν τὸν νεανίσκον. ὁ δ' Ἐλιεὺς ἐκείνους ἔδησεν· ἡ δὲ Ὄχνη μεταμελομένη καὶ γέμουσα ταραχῆς, ἅμα μὲν αὐτὴν ἀπαλ- F λάξαι θέλουσα τῆς διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα λύπης, ἅμα δ' οἰκτείρουσα τοὺς ἀδελφούς, ἐξήγγειλε πρὸς τὸν Ἐλιέα πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἐκεῖνος δὲ Κολωνῷ. Κολωνοῦ δὲ δικάσαντος, οἱ μὲν ἀδελφοὶ τῆς Ὄχνης ἔφυγον, αὐτὴ δὲ κατεκρήμνισεν ἑαυτήν, ὡς Μυρτὶς ἡ Ἀνθηδονία ποιήτρια μελῶν ἱστόρηκε. τοῦ δὲ Εὐνόστου τὸ ἡρῷον καὶ τὸ ἄλσος οὕτως ἀνέμβατον ἐτηρεῖτο[2]

[1] ἔσχηκε Wytt. ex E : ἐσχηκέναι MSS.
[2] ἐτηρεῖτο Wytt. : ἐτήρει MSS.

καὶ ἀπροσπέλαστον γυναιξίν, ὥστε πολλάκις σεισμῶν ἢ αὐχμῶν ἢ διοσημειῶν ἄλλων γενομένων ἀναζητεῖν καὶ πολυ-
301 A πραγμονεῖν ἐπιμελῶς τοὺς Ταναγραίους μὴ λέληθε γυνὴ τῷ τόπῳ πλησιάσασα, καὶ λέγειν ἐνίους, ὧν ὁ Κλείδαμος ἦν, ἀνὴρ ἐπιφανής, ἀπηντηκέναι αὐτοῖς τὸν Εὔνοστον ἐπὶ θάλατταν βαδίζοντα λουσόμενον, ὡς γυναικὸς ἐμβεβηκυίας εἰς τὸ τέμενος. ἀναφέρει δὲ καὶ Διοκλῆς ἐν τῷ περὶ ἡρώων συντάγματι δόγμα Ταναγραίων, περὶ ὧν ὁ Κλείδαμος ἀπήγγειλεν.

41. 'Πόθεν ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ περὶ τὸν Ἑλέωνα ποταμὸς Σκάμανδρος ὠνομάσθη;'

Δηΐμαχος ὁ Ἑλέωνος υἱός, ἑταῖρος ὢν Ἡρακλέους, μετέσχε τῆς ἐπὶ Τροίαν στρατείας· τοῦ δὲ πολέμου μῆκος, ὡς ἔοικε, λαμβάνοντος, ἐρασθεῖσαν αὐτοῦ Γλαυκίαν τὴν
B Σκαμάνδρου θυγατέρα προσδεξάμενος, ἔγκυον ἐποίησεν· εἶτ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἔπεσε μαχόμενος τοῖς Τρωσίν· ἡ δὲ Γλαυκία φοβουμένη κατάφωρος γενέσθαι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ προσέφυγε[1] καὶ κατεῖπεν αὐτῆς τὸν ἔρωτα καὶ τὴν γενομένην πρὸς τὸν Δηΐμαχον ὁμιλίαν. ὁ δὲ ἅμα μὲν οἴκτῳ τῆς γυναικὸς ἅμα δὲ χαίρων τῷ ὑπολείπεσθαι γένος ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ συνήθους, ἀνέλαβε τὴν Γλαυκίαν εἰς τὰς ναῦς, καὶ τεκοῦσαν υἱὸν ἀγαγὼν[2] ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ ἀπέδωκε τῷ Ἐλεῶνι καὶ τὸ παιδίον καὶ αὐτήν. ὠνομάσθη δ' ὁ παῖς Σκάμανδρος καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐβασίλευσε. καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἴναχον ποταμὸν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Σκά-
C μανδρον, τὸ δὲ πλησίον ῥεῦμα Γλαυκίαν ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς ὠνόμασεν· Ἀκίδουσαν δὲ τὴν κρήνην ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικός, ἐξ ἧς ἔσχε τρεῖς θυγατέρας, ἃς τιμῶσιν ἄχρι νῦν 'παρθένους' προσαγορεύοντες.

42. 'Ἀπὸ τίνος ἐρρήθη τὸ παροιμιῶδες, αὗτα κυρία;'

Δίνων ὁ Ταραντῖνος στρατηγῶν, ἀνὴρ δὲ ὢν ἀγαθὸς ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς, ἀποχειροτονησάντων αὐτοῦ τινα γνώμην τῶν πολιτῶν, ὡς ὁ κῆρυξ ἀνεῖπε τὴν νικῶσαν, αὐτὸς ἀνατείνας τὴν δεξιάν, 'ἅδε', εἶπε, 'κρείσσων'· οὕτω γὰρ ὁ Θεόφραστος ἱστόρηκε. προσιστόρηκε δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Ῥυτίνῳ, τοῦ κήρυκος, 'αὗται πλείους', εἰπόντος, 'ἀλλ' αὗται', φάναι, 'βελτίους', καὶ ἐπικυρῶσαι τὴν τῶν ἐλαττόνων χειροτονίαν.

[1] τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ προσέφυγε Wytt. in comm.: πρὸς τὸν Ἡρακλῆ κατέφυγε Herwerden: τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ κατέφυγε MSS.
[2] ἀγαγὼν forte mutandum in ἀνάγων censuit Wytt.

43. ‘Πόθεν ἡ τῶν Ἰθακησίων πόλις Ἀλαλκομεναὶ προση- D
γορεύθη;’

διὰ τὸ τὴν Ἀντίκλειαν ὑπὸ Σισύφου βιασθεῖσαν ἐν τῇ παρθενίᾳ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα συλλαβεῖν· ὑπὸ πλειόνων δ’ ἐστὶν εἰρημένον. Ἴστρος δὲ ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἐν ὑπομνήμασι προσιστόρηκεν, ὅτι τῷ Λαέρτῃ δοθεῖσα πρὸς γάμον καὶ ἀναγομένη, περὶ τὸ Ἀλαλκομένειον ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα τέκοι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐκεῖνος ὥσπερ μητροπόλεως[1] ἀναφέρων τοὔνομα, τὴν ἐν Ἰθάκῃ πόλιν οὕτω φησὶ προσαγορεύεσθαι.[2]

44. ‘Τίνες ἐν Αἰγίνῃ οἱ μονοφάγοι;’

Τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Τροίαν στρατευσάντων Αἰγινητῶν πολλοὶ E
μὲν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπώλοντο, πλείονες δὲ κατὰ πλοῦν ὑπὸ[3] τοῦ χειμῶνος. ὀλίγους οὖν τοὺς περιλειπομένους οἱ προσήκοντες ὑποδεξάμενοι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους πολίτας ὁρῶντες ἐν πένθεσι καὶ λύπαις ὄντας, οὔτε χαίρειν ᾤοντο δεῖν φανερῶς οὔτε θύειν τοῖς θεοῖς· ἀλλὰ κρύφα καὶ κατ’ οἰκίαν ἕκαστοι τοὺς σεσωσμένους ἀνελάμβανον ἑστιάσεσι καὶ φιλοφροσύναις, αὐτοὶ διακονούμενοι πατράσι καὶ συγγενέσι καὶ ἀδελφοῖς καὶ οἰκείοις, ἀλλοτρίου μηδενὸς παρεισιόντος. ταῦτ’ οὖν ἀπομιμούμενοι τῷ Ποσειδῶνι θυσίαν ἄγουσι τοὺς καλουμένους θιάσους, ἐν ᾗ καθ’ αὑτοὺς ἐφ’ ἡμέρας ἑκκαίδεκα μετὰ σιωπῆς F
ἑστιῶνται, δοῦλος δ’ οὐ πάρεστιν· εἶτα ποιήσαντες Ἀφροδίσια διαλύουσι τὴν ἑορτήν· ἐκ δὲ τούτου ‘μονοφάγοι’ καλοῦνται.

45. ‘Διὰ τί τοῦ Λαβρανδέως[4] Διὸς ἐν Καρίᾳ τὸ ἄγαλμα πέλεκυν ἡρμένον οὐχὶ δὲ σκῆπτρον ἢ κεραυνὸν πεποίηται;’

ὅτι Ἡρακλῆς Ἱππολύτην ἀποκτείνας καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὅπλων αὐτῆς λαβὼν τὸν πέλεκυν Ὀμφάλῃ δῶρον δέδωκεν· οἱ δὲ μετ’ Ὀμφάλην Λυδῶν βασιλεῖς ἐφόρουν αὐτὸν ὥς τι τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν ἐκ διαδοχῆς παραλαμβάνοντες, ἄχρι Καν- 302 A
δαύλης ἀπαξιώσας ἑνὶ τῶν ἑταίρων φορεῖν ἔδωκεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ Γύγης ἀποστὰς ἐπολέμει πρὸς αὐτόν, ἦλθεν Ἄρσηλις ἐκ Μυλασέων[5] ἐπίκουρος τῷ Γύγῃ μετὰ δυνάμεως, καὶ τόν τε Κανδαύλην καὶ τὸν ἑταῖρον αὐτοῦ διαφθείρει, καὶ τὸν πέλεκυν

[1] μητροπόλεως Stephanus : μεσοπόλεως MSS.
[2] φησὶ προσαγορεύεσθαι] deleto φησί, προσηγόρευσε legendum suspicatus est Wytt. : προσαγορεύσειε Hutten.
[3] ὑπὸ Wytt. : ἀπὸ MSS.
[4] Λαβρανδέως Bern. ; Λαβραδέως MSS.
[5] Μυλασέων Xylander : Μυλέων MSS.

εἰς Καρίαν ἐκόμισε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων λαφύρων. καὶ Διὸς ἄγαλμα κατασκευάσας τὸν πέλεκυν ἐνεχείρισε,[1] καὶ Λαβρανδέα τὸν θεὸν προσηγόρευσε· Λυδοὶ γὰρ λάβρυν τὸν πέλεκυν ὀνομάζουσι.

B 46. ‘Διὰ τί Τραλλιανοὶ καθαρτῆρα καλοῦσι τὸν ὄροβον καὶ χρῶνται μάλιστα πρὸς τὰς ἀφοσιώσεις καὶ τοὺς καθαρμούς;’

ἢ ὅτι Λέλεγες καὶ Μινύαι τὸ παλαιὸν ἐξελάσαντες αὐτοὺς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν κατεῖχον, ὕστερον δὲ οἱ Τραλλιανοὶ κατελθόντες καὶ κρατήσαντες, ὅσοι τῶν Λελέγων οὐ διεφθάρησαν οὐδ’ ἔφυγον ἀλλὰ δι’ ἀμηχανίαν βίου καὶ ἀσθένειαν ὑπελείφθησαν αὐτόθι, τούτων οὐδένα λόγον ἔχοντες οὔτε ζώντων οὔτ’ ἀπολλυμένων, νόμον ἔθεντο τὸν κτείναντα Μινύην ἢ Λελέγην Τραλλιανὸν καθαρὸν εἶναι, μέδιμνον ὀρόβων ἀπομετρήσαντα τοῖς οἰκείοις τοῦ φονευθέντος;

47. ‘Διὰ τί παρὰ τοῖς Ἠλείοις παροιμιῶδές ἐστι τὸ δεινότερα Σαμβίκου παθεῖν;’

C λέγεταί τινα Σάμβικον Ἠλεῖον ἔχοντα πολλοὺς ὑφ’ ἑαυτῷ συνεργοὺς πολλὰ περικόψαι τῶν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ χαλκῶν ἀναθημάτων καὶ ἀποδόσθαι, τέλος δὲ συλῆσαι τὸ τῆς ἐπισκόπου Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερόν· τοῦτο δ’ ἐστὶ μὲν ἐν Ἤλιδι, καλεῖται δὲ Ἀριστάρχειον· εὐθὺς οὖν μετὰ ταύτην τὴν ἱεροσυλίαν ἁλόντα βασανίζεσθαι δι’ ἐνιαυτοῦ περὶ ἑκάστου τῶν κεκοινωνηκότων ἀνακρινόμενον, καὶ οὕτως ἀποθανεῖν καὶ τὴν παροιμίαν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκείνου πάθεσι γενέσθαι.

48. ‘Διὰ τί ἐν Λακεδαίμονι παρὰ τὸ τῶν Λευκιππίδων ἱερὸν ἵδρυται τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως ἡρῷον;’

D Ἐργίαιος εἷς τῶν Διομήδους ἀπογόνων, ὑπὸ Τημένου πεισθεὶς ἐξέκλεψε τὸ παλλάδιον ἐξ Ἄργους, συνειδότος Λεάγρου καὶ συνεκκλέπτοντος· ἦν δ’ οὗτος εἷς τῶν Τημένου συνήθων. ὕστερον δὲ τῷ Τημένῳ γενόμενος δι’ ὀργῆς ὁ Λέαγρος εἰς Λακεδαίμονα μετέστη τὸ παλλάδιον κομίζων. οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς δεξάμενοι προθύμως ἱδρύσαντο πλησίον τοῦ τῶν Λευκιππίδων ἱεροῦ, καὶ πέμψαντες εἰς Δελφοὺς διεμαντεύοντο περὶ σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ καὶ φυλακῆς. ἀνελόντος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ἕνα τῶν ὑφελομένων τὸ παλλάδιον φύλακα ποιεῖσθαι, κατεσκεύασαν αὐτόθι τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως τὸ ἡρῷον, ἄλλως τε καὶ προσήκειν τῇ πόλει τὸν ἥρωα διὰ τὸν τῆς Πηνελόπης γάμον ὑπολαβόντες.

[1] ἐνεχείρισε Wytt. ex E : ἐγχείρισε MSS.

49. ‘Διὰ τί ταῖς Χαλκηδονίαις ἔθος ἐστίν, ὅταν ἀνδράσιν E
ἀλλοτρίοις ἐντύχωσι, μάλιστα δ' ἄρχουσι, τὴν ἑτέραν περι-
καλύπτεσθαι παρειάν;’

πόλεμος ἦν αὐτοῖς πρὸς Βιθυνοὺς ἐκ πάσης παροξυνο-
μένοις προφάσεως· Ζειποίτου δὲ βασιλεύσαντος αὐτῶν παν-
στρατιᾷ καὶ Θρᾳκῶν ἐπικουρίας προσγενομένης, ἐπυρπόλουν
καὶ κατέτρεχον τὴν χώραν. ἐπιθεμένου δὲ τοῦ Ζειποίτου
περὶ τὸ καλούμενον Φάλιον αὐτοῖς, κακῶς ἀγωνισάμενοι διὰ
θράσος καὶ ἀταξίαν, ὑπὲρ ὀκτακισχιλίους ἀπέβαλον στρατιώ-
τας· καὶ παντελῶς μὲν οὐκ ἀνῃρέθησαν τότε, Ζειποίτου F
Βυζαντίοις χαρισαμένου τὰς διαλύσεις· πολλῆς δὲ τὴν πόλιν
ἐρημίας ἀνδρῶν κατεχούσης, αἱ μὲν πλεῖσται γυναῖκες ὑπ'
ἀνάγκης ἀπελευθέροις καὶ μετοίκοις συνῴκησαν· αἱ δὲ ἀναν-
δρίαν ἀντὶ τοιούτων ἑλόμεναι γάμων, αὐταὶ δι' αὐτῶν ἔπραττον
ὅτου δεηθεῖεν παρὰ δικασταῖς καὶ ἄρχουσιν, ἀπάγουσαι
θάτερον μέρος τοῦ προσώπου τῆς καλύπτρας. αἱ δὲ γεγαμη- 303 A
μέναι δι' αἰσχύνην ἀναμιμούμεναι ταύτας ὡς ἑαυτῶν βελτίονας
εἰς ἔθος ὅμοιον κατέστησαν.

50. ‘Διὰ τί πρὸς τὸ τοῦ Ἀγήνορος τέμενος τὰς οἷς προσελαύ-
νοντες οἱ Ἀργεῖοι βιβάζουσιν;’

ἢ ὅτι κάλλιστα προβάτων ὁ Ἀγήνωρ ἐπεμελήθη καὶ
πλεῖστα ποίμνια τῶν βασιλέων ἐκτήσατο;

51. ‘Διὰ τί Βαλλαχράδας ἑαυτοὺς Ἀργείων παῖδες ἐν ἑορτῇ
τινι παίζοντες ἀποκαλοῦσιν;’

ἢ ὅτι τοὺς πρώτους ὑπὸ Ἰνάχου καταχθέντας ἐκ τῶν
ἄκρων [1] εἰς τὰ πεδία ἀχράσι διατραφῆναι λέγουσιν; ἀχράδας
δὲ πρῶτον ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ φανῆναι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἔτι τῆς
χώρας ἐκείνης Ἀπίας προσαγορευομένης· ὅθεν ἄπιοι ⟨αἱ⟩ B
ἀχράδες [2] ἐπωνομάσθησαν.[3]

52. ‘Τίς ἡ αἰτία, δι' ἣν Ἠλεῖοι τὰς ἐνόδας [4] ἵππους ἐκτὸς
ὅρων ἀπάγοντες βιβάζουσιν;’

ἢ ὅτι πάντων τῶν βασιλέων φιλιππότατος ὢν ὁ Οἰνόμαος
καὶ μάλιστα τὸ ζῷον ἀγαπήσας τοῦτ' ἐπηράσατο πολλὰ καὶ

[1] ἄκρων Madvig: ὀρῶν Wytt.: ἀγρῶν MSS.
[2] ἄπιοι ἀχράδες MSS.: οἱ addidit Wytt. ex E et P quod αἱ corr. Bern.
[3] ἐπωνομάσθησαν Wytt. ex E: μετωνομάσθησαν MSS.
[4] ἐνόδας corruptum, cf. p. 200.

δεινὰ κατὰ τῶν ἵππους ὀχευόντων ἐν Ἤλιδι, καὶ φοβούμενοι τὴν κατάραν ἐκείνην ἀφοσιοῦνται ;

53. ‘Διὰ τί παρὰ Κνωσσίοις ἔθος ἦν ἁρπάζειν τοῖς δανειζομένοις τὸ ἀργύριον ;’

ἢ ὅπως ἀποστεροῦντες ἔνοχοι τοῖς βιαίοις ὦσι καὶ μᾶλλον κολάζωνται ;

54. ‘Τίς ἡ αἰτία δι’ ἣν ἐν Σάμῳ τὴν Δεξικρέοντος Ἀφροδίτην καλοῦσι ;’

πότερον ὅτι τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τρυφῆς καὶ ὕβρεως ἀκόλαστα ποιούσας Δεξικρέων ἀνὴρ ἀγύρτης καθαρμῷ χρησάμενος ἀπήλλαξεν ; ἢ ὅτι ναύκληρος ὢν ὁ Δεξικρέων ἔπλευσεν εἰς Κύπρον ἐπ’ ἐμπορίᾳ, καὶ μέλλοντα γεμίζειν ⟨τὴν ναῦν [1]⟩ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην κελεύειν ὕδωρ ἐμβαλόμενον καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο πλεῖν τὴν ταχίστην· πεισθεὶς δὲ καὶ πολὺ ὕδωρ ἐνθέμενος ἐξέπλευσεν, εἶτα νηνεμίας καὶ γαλήνης ἐν τῷ πελάγει κατασχούσης, διψῶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐμπόροις καὶ ναυκλήροις ὕδωρ πιπράσκων ἀργύριον πολὺ συνήθροισεν ; ἐκ δὲ τούτου κατα-
D σκευάσας τὴν θεὸν ἀφ’ ἑαυτοῦ προσηγόρευσεν· εἰ δὴ τοῦτο ἀληθές ἐστι, φαίνεται οὐχ ἕνα πλουτίσαι, πολλοὺς δὲ σῶσαι δι’ ἑνὸς ἡ θεὸς θελήσασα.

55. ‘Διὰ τί τοῖς Σαμίοις, ὅταν τῷ Ἑρμῇ τῷ Χαριδότῃ θύωσι, κλέπτειν ἐφεῖται τῷ βουλομένῳ καὶ λωποδυτεῖν ;’

ὅτι κατὰ χρησμὸν ἐκ τῆς νήσου μεταστάντες εἰς Μυκάλην ἀπὸ ληστείας δέκα ἔτη διεγένοντο· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πλεύσαντες αὖθις εἰς τὴν νῆσον, ἐκράτησαν τῶν πολεμίων οἱ Σάμιοι.

56. ‘Ἀπὸ τίνος Πάναιμα τόπος ἐν τῇ Σαμίων νήσῳ καλεῖται ;’

ἢ ὅτι φεύγουσαι Διόνυσον [2] αἱ Ἀμαζόνες ἐκ τῆς Ἐφεσίων
E χώρας εἰς Σάμον διέπλευσαν· ὁ δὲ ποιησάμενος πλοῖα καὶ διαβὰς μάχην συνῆψε καὶ πολλὰς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινε περὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον, ὃν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ ῥυέντος αἵματος οἱ θεώμενοι Πάναιμα θαυμάζοντες ἐκάλουν ; τῶν δὲ δ’ ἐλεφάντων [3] ἀποθανεῖν τινες λέγονται περὶ τὸ Φλοιὸν καὶ τὰ ὀστᾶ

[1] *τὴν ναῦν* suppleuit Wytt.
[2] *Διόνυσον* Wytt. : *Διονυσίον* MSS.
[3] *ἐλεφάντων*, cf. *C. R.* xli, p. 59 : *φονευθέντων* Stephanus : φ post quod lacunam quinque litterarum habet E : *φάντων* MSS.

δείκνυται αὐτῶν· τινὲς δὲ λέγουσι καὶ τὸ Φλοιὸν ἐπ' ἐκείνων ῥαγῆναι, φθεγγομένων μέγα τι καὶ διάτορον.

57. 'Ἀπὸ ποίας αἰτίας ὁ ἀνδρὼν ἐν Σάμῳ πεδήτης καλεῖται;'

τῶν γεωμόρων ἐχόντων τὴν πολιτείαν μετὰ τὴν Δημοτέλους σφαγὴν καὶ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῆς ἐκείνου μοναρχίας, οἱ Μεγαρεῖς Περινθίοις ἐπεστράτευσαν ἀποίκοις οὖσι Σαμίων, F πέδας κομίζοντες ὡς λέγεται ἐπὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους. ταῦτα δ' οἱ γεωμόροι πυνθανόμενοι βοήθειαν ἔπεμπον κατὰ τάχος, στρατηγοὺς μὲν ἀποδείξαντες ἐννέα, ναῦς δὲ πληρώσαντες τριάκοντα. τούτων ἐκπλέουσαι δύο πρὸ τοῦ λιμένος ὑπὸ κεραυνοῦ 304 A διεφθάρησαν· οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πλεύσαντες ἐνίκων τοὺς Μεγαρέας, καὶ ζῶντας αὐτῶν ἔλαβον ἑξακοσίους. ἐπαρθέντες δὲ τῇ νίκῃ διενοοῦντο καταλύειν τὴν οἰκοι γεωμόρων ὀλιγαρχίαν. ἀφορμὴν δὲ παρέσχον οἱ προεστῶτες τῆς πολιτείας, γράψαντες αὐτοῖς ὅπως τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τῶν Μεγαρέων κομίσωσι ταῖς αὐτῶν ἐκείνων πέδαις δεδεμένους. λαβόντες οὖν τὰ γράμματα ταῦτα καὶ δείξαντες κρύφα τισὶ[1] τῶν Μεγαρέων, ἔπεισαν αὐτοὺς συστῆναι μεθ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐλευθερῶσαι· βουλευομένοις δὲ κοινῇ περὶ τῆς πράξεως B ἔδοξε τῶν πεδῶν τοὺς κρίκους διακροτῆσαι, καὶ περιθέντας οὕτω τοῖς σκέλεσι τῶν Μεγαρέων ἀναλαβεῖν πρὸς τὰς ζώνας ἱμᾶσιν, ὅπως μὴ περιρρέωσι μηδὲ ἐκβαίνωσιν αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ βαδίζειν χαλαρῶν γενομένων. οὕτω δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐνσκευάσαντες καὶ ξίφος ἑκάστῳ δόντες, ἐπεὶ κατέπλευσαν εἰς Σάμον καὶ ἀπέβησαν, ἦγον αὐτοὺς δι' ἀγορᾶς εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὁμοῦ τι πάντων τῶν γεωμόρων συγκαθεζομένων. εἶτα σημείου δοθέντος, οἱ Μεγαρεῖς προσπεσόντες ἔκτεινον τοὺς ἄνδρας. οὕτω δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐλευθερωθείσης, τούς τε βουλομένους τῶν Μεγαρέων πολίτας ἐποιήσαντο καὶ κατα- C σκευάσαντες οἶκον εὐμεγέθη τὰς πέδας ἀνέθηκαν, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου πεδήτης ὁ οἶκος ὠνομάσθη.

58. 'Διὰ τί παρὰ Κῴοις ὁ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἱερεὺς ἐν Ἀντιμαχείᾳ γυναικείαν ἐνδεδυμένος ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀναδούμενος μίτρᾳ κατάρχεται τῆς θυσίας;'

Ἡρακλῆς ταῖς ἐξ ναυσὶν ἀπὸ Τροίας ἀναχθεὶς ἐχειμάσθη, καὶ τῶν νεῶν διαφθαρεισῶν μιᾷ μόνῃ πρὸς τὴν Κῶν ὑπὸ

[1] τισὶ Wytt. : τοῖς MSS.

τοῦ πνεύματος ἐλαυνόμενος ἐξέπεσε κατὰ τὸν Λακητῆρα καλούμενον, οὐδὲν ἄλλο περισῴσας ἢ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας.
D ἐντυχὼν δὲ προβάτοις ᾔτει κριὸν ἕνα παρὰ τοῦ νέμοντος· ὁ δ' ἄνθρωπος ἐκαλεῖτο μὲν Ἀνταγόρας, ἀκμάζων δὲ τῇ ῥώμῃ τοῦ σώματος ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ διαπαλαῖσαι τὸν Ἡρακλέα, κἂν καταβάλῃ, τὸν κριὸν φέρεσθαι. καὶ συμπεσόντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἐς χεῖρας, οἱ Μέροπες τῷ Ἀνταγόρᾳ παραβοηθοῦντες, οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, μάχην καρτερὰν συνῆψαν. ἐν ᾗ λέγεται τῷ πλήθει καταπονούμενος ὁ Ἡρακλῆς καταφυγεῖν πρὸς γυναῖκα Θρᾷτταν καὶ διαλαθεῖν ἐσθῆτι γυναικείᾳ κατακρύψας ἑαυτόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Μερόπων
E αὖθις κρατήσας καὶ καθαρθεὶς ἐγάμει τὴν Χαλκιόπην,[1] ἀνέλαβε στολὴν ἀνθινήν. διὸ θύει μὲν ὁ ἱερεὺς ὅπου τὴν μάχην συνέβη γενέσθαι, τὰς δὲ νύμφας οἱ γαμοῦντες δεξιοῦνται γυναικείαν στολὴν περιθέμενοι.

59. 'Πόθεν ἐν Μεγάροις γένος ἁμαξοκυλιστῶν;'

ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκολάστου δημοκρατίας, ἣ καὶ τὴν παλιντοκίαν ἐποίησε καὶ τὴν ἱεροσυλίαν, ἐπορεύετο θεωρία Πελοποννησίων
F εἰς Δελφοὺς διὰ τῆς Μεγαρικῆς καὶ κατηυλίσθησαν[2] ἐν Αἰγείροις παρὰ τὴν λίμνην μετὰ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν ὡς ἔτυχεν ἐν ταῖς ἁμάξαις. τῶν δὲ Μεγαρέων οἱ θρασύτατοι μεθυσθέντες, ὕβρει καὶ ὠμότητι τὰς ἁμάξας ἀνακυλίσαντες εἰς τὴν λίμνην ἐνεώσαντο, ὥστε πολλοὺς ἀποπνιγῆναι τῶν θεωρῶν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Μεγαρεῖς δι' ἀταξίαν τῆς πολιτείας ἠμέλησαν τοῦ ἀδικήματος, οἱ δ' Ἀμφικτύονες, ἱερᾶς τῆς θεωρίας οὔσης, ἐπιστραφέντες τοὺς μὲν φυγῇ τοὺς δὲ θανάτῳ τῶν ἐναγῶν ἐζημίωσαν. οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους 'ἁμαξοκυλισταί' προσηγορεύθησαν.

[1] τὴν Χαλκιόπην, cf. p. 215 : τὴν Ἀλκιόπου MSS.
[2] κατηυλίσθησαν Wytt. : κατεκυλίσθησαν MSS.

THE GREEK QUESTIONS

Question 1

Q. *Who were 'dusty feet' and 'directors' (artunoi) in Epidauros?*

A. *Those who enjoyed political rights were a hundred and eighty men, and from these they used to select councillors, whom they called 'directors'. But the greater part of the proletariat lived on the land, and they were called 'dusty feet' because, one may conjecture, they were recognized by their dusty feet, whenever they came into the town.*

Whatever word be chosen to fill the lacuna in the MSS. after οἱ μὲν τὸ πολίτευμα the sense of the phrase is certain. For οἱ ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ or οἱ ἐν τῷ πολιτεύματι, meaning 'those who possess political rights', see Aristotle, *Politics*, *passim*, e. g. iii, 1279 a, 1279 b, viii, 8, 1308 a.

The source is probably Aristotle, *Constitution of the Epidaurians*; Giessen, "Plutarchs Quaestiones Graecae und Aristoteles' Politien", *Philologus*, lx, pp. 454–5. For the existence of the work see Rose, *Frag.* 449; *F. H. G.*, Müller, ii, p. 137.

In all the Dorian states of the Peloponnese, with the possible exception of Phlius (Paus., ii, 13, 1), an aristocracy of conquest was the rule; the non-Dorian population was reduced to serfdom and was originally debarred from political rights. At Argos, Corinth, and Sicyon such persons were called by derisive nicknames such as γυμνῆτες, γυμνήσιοι, or κορυνηφόροι, because they were not qualified to serve in the citizen hoplite ranks, or κυνόφαλοι or κατωνακοφόροι, because, like Homeric peasants (*Odyssey* xxiv, 231), they wore the skin cap and coat of raw fleeces,[1] perhaps, like the Helots at Sparta (Athenaeus, xiv, 74, 657 D), under legal compulsion. See further Whibley, *Greek Oligarchies*, p. 182; Gilbert, *Handbuch*, ii, pp. 74, 81, 203; Busolt, *Staatskunde*, i, 136.

Our particular nickname of 'dusty feet' occurs in the gloss of Hesychius s. v. κονιορτόποδες· ἀγροῖκοι, ἐργάται; it may be compared with the 'clod-hoppers' of Boeotia. οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν συο-Βοιωτοί, κρουπεζοφόρον γένος ἀνδρῶν, Kratinos, *Frag.* 310 (Kock): Photius s. v. κρούπεζαι· ξύλινα ὑποδήματα, ἐν οἷς τὰς ἐλαίας ἐπάτουν.

[1] Cf. Theognis, 55:

ἀλλ' ἀμφὶ πλευραῖσι δοραὶς αἰγῶν κατέτριβον
ἔξω δ' ὥστ' ἔλαφοι τῆσδ' ἐνέμοντο πόλεος.

The French use of *pieds poudreux*, *pieds gris* for rustic may be compared with the Epidaurian nickname (see examples given by Niedermann, *Kuhn's Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, xlv, 1913, p. 183), and, as Professor Rose reminds me, there is our 'piepowder', which is a heritage from Norman French (see *N. E. D.* s. v. piepowder).

The title *artunos* is glossed by Hesychius as equivalent to *archon*. It is derived from ἀρτύνω, ἀρτύω, 'I marshal' or 'set in order'. It therefore belongs to the same category as *harmost*, *ephor*, *archon*, *kosmoi*. Such titles which do not define the scope of the functions or powers conferred, were characteristic of magistracies in early constitutions, and they remained favourites with oligarchies, inasmuch as an office of undefined scope tends to be unlimited in power (see Whibley, *op. cit.*, pp. 161–2).

There were magistrates called *artunai* at Argos, but what precisely were their functions is not clear.

Upon the occasion of the alliance between Athens, Argos, Mantinea, and Elis in 420 B. C. the oath was to be administered at Argos by the *Eighty*, probably the survival of an aristocratic council like the Areopagus at Athens, and is to be sworn by the *Boule* and the *artunai* (Thucydides, v, 47, 9). In an inscription they appear to have financial duties: θησαυρῶν τῶν τᾶς Ἀθηναίας αἴ τις ⟨τις⟩ ἢ τὰν βωλὰν τὰν ἀνφ' Ἀρρίστωνα ἢ τοὺς συναρτύοντας ἢ ἄλλον τινὰ ταμίαν εὐθύνοι τέλος ἔχων (*I. G.*, iv, 1, No. 554).[1] At Thera the official responsible for the financial administration of the religious association created under the will of Epikteta is called ἀρτυτήρ (*I. G.*, xii, 3, 330).

But even were we better informed about the *artunai* of Argos, it would by no means necessarily follow, in spite of the close political connexion of Argos and Epidauros during their early history, that the functions of the Epidaurian *artunoi* were identical. Actually the character of the latter, who appear to be primarily members of an executive committee, is fairly clearly indicated by Plutarch. The constitution depicted is a very rigid oligarchy in which political rights are enjoyed only by one hundred and eighty persons, a number the smallness of which suggests an oligarchy of heads of families (for oligarchies of this type see p. 47, below). This body corresponds to the general meeting of the politically privileged which was known as the *Boule* or *Gerousia* in Corinth, *Boule* in Crete, or *Six Hundred* in Massalia (Gilbert, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 315).

That the initiative should be vested in a smaller probouleutic committee selected from this larger body is quite normal in constitutions of this type. That the number of this committee was sixty, as Whibley (*op. cit.*, p. 159) states, is not in itself improbable,

[1] See also the inscription published by Vollgraff, *B. C. H.*, xxxiv (1910), p. 331, where perhaps Lykotadas is president of the *artunai ibid.*, p. 348).

but I do not know of any evidence that it was. Nor have we information as to tenure. In similar bodies tenure for life or for a long period, coupled with a relatively high age qualification, was the rule (Gilbert, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 319), and the sixty *Amnemones* of Knidos (Question 4 below) were appointed for life.

For *artunai* at Argos and *artunoi* at Epidauros see further Busolt, *Staatskunde*, i, pp. 349, 363, 366; Halliday in *Annals*, x, pp. 27 f.

The question then arises as to the date of the constitution which Plutarch is describing. Gilbert (*op. cit.*, ii, p. 68) would apparently place it after the tyranny of Prokles, the father-in-law, enemy, and victim of Periander (Herodotus, iii, 50, 52). Upon general grounds, however, an oligarchy of so rigid, restricted, and racial a type is more likely to have preceded, than to have succeeded, the stage of tyranny. Clearly, if the 'dusty feet' represent the non-Dorian population, these have not yet attained political rights, as the non-Dorians eventually did at Epidauros, as at Sicyon and Argos—where a fourth non-Dorian tribe was added, whose members appear to have been called Aigialeis at Sicyon (Herodotus, v, 68) and Hyrnathioi at Argos. Whether they were called Hyrnathioi also at Epidauros, as it has been the fashion to assert since Müller's *Dorians* appeared, is questionable, for there is no positive evidence to support the name (Halliday, *Annals*, x, pp. 27 f.). That, whatever its name, the non-Dorian tribe was not yet in existence is confirmed by the number of the privileged class in our constitution. By all analogy it must rest upon some tribal basis, and, though it is true that 180 is divisible both by 3 and by 4, 4×45 is a much less probable formula than 3×60, while in fact 60 and 600 happen to be favourite figures in oligarchical constitutions. Now at Sicyon the non-Dorian tribe was in existence before the rise of the Orthagorid dynasty, and this analogy confirms our deduction from the character of the constitution, that it must be earlier not later than the tyranny of Prokles. To suppose it to be contemporary with the existence of the Peloponnesian League, as Kahrstedt (*Griechisches Staatsrecht*, i, p. 110) appears to do, seems therefore extremely improbable.

Question 2

Q. *Who is the rider on the donkey among the Kumaeans?*

A. *That woman who was taken in adultery, they used to lead into the market-place, and set her upon a certain stone in the full view of all. Then in like manner they mounted her upon a donkey, and after she had been led round the whole city, she had again to stand*[1] *upon the same stone and for the future to live dishonoured, being addressed as*

[1] Or 'be set'. καταστῆναι may mean either.

'rider upon the donkey'. But upon this account considering the stone to be unclean, they ceremonially purified it.

There was also a certain magistracy with them of which the holder was called guardian (phylaktes). The holder of this office normally superintended the prison, but at its nocturnal meeting he went in to the Council and led the kings out by the hand and kept them, until the Council, casting their votes in secret, had come to a decision about them, whether or not they were guilty of wrongdoing.

Both question and answer are probably drawn from Aristotle, *Constitution of the Kumaeans* (Giessen, *op. cit.*, pp. 460–1), for the existence of which see Rose, *Frag.* 481; *F. H. G.*, Müller, ii, p. 113.

Aeolian Kume, the birthplace of Hesiod's father, was a backward state which was the favourite butt of its neighbours (e. g. the inhabitants take 300 years to discover the uses of a port and haven't the wit to get in out of the rain, Strabo, xiii, 3, 6, 522: cf. the story of the cart-wright king of Lydia and the obstinate Kumaean, Heracleides, *F. H. G.*, Müller, ii, p. 216). Ancient and absurd laws were there retained in use, Aristotle, *Politics*, ii, 8, 20, 1269 a. As regards our particular specimen, the severe punishment of adultery is characteristic of early or primitive codes in Greece as elsewhere (cf. the tale of Zaleukos and his son, Val. Max., vi, 5, 3; Aelian, *V. H.*, xiii, 24, and the story of the king of Tenedos who put his son to death, Steph. Byz., s. v. Τένεδος from Aristotle, *Frag.* 551, Rose).

The practice of parading a convicted criminal has been elaborately examined by Politis, Λαογραφικὰ Σύμμεικτα, i, pp. 334–50. For classical antiquity he quotes the parade of Kinadon and his fellow prisoners (Xen., *Hell.*, iii, 3, 11), the punishment of thieves at Sparta (Plutarch, *Inst. Lac.*, 9, 237 c), and the defaulting debtors in Boeotia, who were exposed in the market-place with a two-gallon measure upon their heads (Nic. Dam., *Frag.* 113; *F. H. G.*, Müller, iii, p. 458). In the laws of Charondas sycophants were paraded with tamarisk crowns upon their heads (Diodorus, vii, 12, 2), and cowards or deserters were exposed for three days in the *agora* in female attire (Diodorus, xiii, 16, 1), a form of punishment which was frequently applied to the same offence in Byzantine times (Politis, *loc. cit.*).

As applied to adultery Hesychius s. v. ὀνοβόστιδες, ὀνοβάτιδες speaks as though the parade on the donkey were a general Greek practice. In Pisidia both man and woman were paraded on a donkey for a certain number of days (Nic. Dam., *Frag.* 130; *F. H. G.*, Müller, iii, p. 462). At Lepreum adulterers were paraded for three days and then held in dishonour for life. The woman was exposed to popular scorn in the market-place for three days dressed in a transparent chiton and without her girdle (Heracleides

Ponticus, *F. H. G.*, Müller, ii, p. 217). At Gortyn in Crete the adulterer was crowned with wool and heavily fined (Aelian, *V. H.*, xii, 12).

Such customs are not confined to ancient Greece. The parade of a criminal, usually with face to tail, upon a beast was common in the East, e. g. Burton-Smithers, *Arabian Nights*, vi, p. 397 (donkey), i, p. 366 (mule), i, p. 308 (camel). The scape-goat or the representative of Winter or the Old Year is frequently paraded before ritual execution. Thus in the Persian festival of the vernal equinox, Kusch-nishin (Thinbeard-sitting) is paraded round the streets on an ass, with a crow in one hand and a fan in the other (Burton-Smithers, *op. cit.*, iii, p. 33 n.), and at the *Thargelia* the *pharmakoi* were led round the city, though they were not mounted.

The parade is very frequently a feature of the punishment of sexual offences. In Constantinople in the seventeenth century the adulterer and adulteress were paraded upon donkeys (von Hammer, *A narrative of the travels of Evlíya Efendi*, i, ii, pp. 250–1; Tournefort, *Relation d'un Voyage du Levant*, Paris, 1717, ii, p. 95), and in 1702 Tournefort (*op. cit.*, i, p. 452) noted the custom in Skyros, where it still exists under the title of *Gaidarogyrisma* (Politis, *op. cit.*, p. 350). In old German law the *Eselritt* was prescribed for wives who were guilty of adultery or of striking their husbands (J. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsaltertümer*, 3rd ed., Göttingen, 1881, pp. 722–5), and Politis (*op. cit.*, p. 346) gives references for analogous customs in France and England; for the latter country compare Thomas Hardy, *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, cap. 39.

In the Berkshire custom, which is described in the *Spectator*, Nos. 614 and 623, an incontinent widow, who wished to retain the property rights which had been forfeited by her inchastity, must enter the court 'riding backward upon a Black Ram with his Tail in her Hand'. The reputation of the ram in English speech and folk-lore no doubt explains its choice for this purpose. For the same reason probably the bull is employed in a similar Arab adultery parade (Basset, *Mille et un Contes, Récits et Légendes arabes*, ii, p. 114). The use of the donkey in Mediterranean countries, where donkeys are not ridiculous mounts, is no doubt prompted by its amorous reputation.

The stone upon which the woman had to stand may remind us of the stones of Injury and Ruthlessness on the Areopagus, upon which the accused and the accuser stood when they took their oaths (Pausanias, i, 28, 5) and the stone in the *agora*, standing upon which the archons took their oath (Plutarch, *Solon*, 25). For further references with regard to these see Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. ii, pp. 57–8, 364.

The connexion of a particular local stone with marriage or with marital offences is not at all uncommon in European folk-lore. For example, the 'Mortar Stane' of Fordyce, Banffshire, on

Hogmanay night was carried by the youths of the village and placed at the door of that young woman whom they wished to see married in the course of the year, while at Gauchin le Gal, a village near Arras, a round stone existed which was said to go at night and knock at the doors of husbands whose wives were unfaithful, (D. Rorie, *Folk-Lore*, xxxiv, pp. 162–4). In Germany scolds and calumniators used to be taken round in procession carrying a stone, which was called *Schandstein*, *Lasterstein*, or *Klapperstein* (Politis, *op. cit.*, p. 346). But the nearest analogy to the stone at Kume is probably that of the *Rolandsäule*, the later representative of the *Blutsäule* or *Gerichtsäule* of the Salic Law, or the *Blutstein*, which was set up in places where moots were held and capital cases decided. Evil-doers, notably adulterers, were brought before the *Rolandsäule* for punishment or execution. According to early Frankish laws women of bad character were shorn of their tresses before the pole of justice (*ad palum tondere*), and the same was done at Halle before the *Rolandsäule* as late as the eighteenth century (Evans, 'The Rollright Stones and their Folk-lore,' *Folk-Lore*, vi, 1895, pp. 38, 43). In Braunstadt in Holstein every bride who came from another place had to pass three times round the *Rolandsäule* with her trousseau before she went to the bridegroom's house (Samter, *Familienfeste der Griechen und Römer*, p. 29).

As regards the constitutional aspect of our question, our knowledge of the history of Kume is fragmentary. A tyranny was apparently imposed by Cyrus (Heracleides, *F. H. G.*, Müller, ii, p. 217), and a Kumaean tyrant was among those deposed at the outset of the Ionian Revolt (Herodotus, iv, 138, v, 37, 38). Before Cyrus, in spite of the order of the narrative in Heracleides (see Gilbert, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 157), must be placed the changes assigned to Pheidon and Prometheus. The first extended the franchise by giving political rights to all who possessed a horse. A similar 'knight' census existed at Eretria, Chalkis, and Magnesia on the Maeander (Whibley, *op. cit.*, p. 132). The change was perhaps from an oligarchy of heads of families. The second substituted an oligarchy of one thousand.[1] Kume was eventually governed by a democracy (*C. I. G.*, 3523). The allusion to the democracy destroyed by Thrasymachos (Aristotle, *Politics*, v, 5, 4, 1305 a) is, however, obscure, and it is not even known which Kume, the Italian or the Anatolian, is intended.

Clearly the constitution in our Question is a strict oligarchy of an early type. Characteristic is the control of the magistrates by the oligarchic council (see Whibley, *op. cit.*, p. 150–1). It is therefore to be dated before the advance of Persia.

[1] For the development from 'knight' to 'hoplite' census see Gilbert, *op. cit.*, ii, pp. 273–4. For oligarchies of a fixed number, the principle adopted in Plato, *Laws*, see Whibley, *op. cit.*, pp. 134 f. Oligarchies of one thousand are known at Croton, Rhegium, Akragas, Opuntian and Epizephyrian Lokrians, Kolophon, Gilbert, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 276.

The midnight meeting of the council resembles that proposed by Plato in the *Laws* (961 B: cf. Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.*, vii, 9, 714 C), upon the grounds δεῖν δὲ ὄρθριον εἶναι τὸν σύλλογον ἡνίκ' ἂν τῶν ἄλλων πράξεων ἰδίων τε καὶ κοινῶν καὶ μάλιστ' ᾖ τις σχολὴ παντί. The time no doubt was favoured for its solemnity and secrecy.

The royal title frequently survived the disappearance of the monarchy. An example is the *basileus* at Athens or the Argive 'king' who still existed in 480 B. C., though it was the *Boule* which decided foreign policy (Herodotus, vii, 148–9). The magistrates called *basileis* in historical times are sometimes eponymous, but are generally religious officials. Examples are recorded at Ephesus (Strabo, xiv, 1, 3, 633; Diog. Laert., ix, 6), Skepsis (Strabo, xiii, 1, 52, 607), Mytilene (*S. G. D. I.*, 214, 215, 46), Chalkedon (Dittenberger, *Syll.*, 1011), Miletus (*ibid.*, 1031), Samothrace (*ibid.*, 1053, 1054), Chersonese (*ibid.*, 182), Kos (*ibid.*, 1025), Chios (*ibid.*, 986), Siphnos (Isocrates, xix, 36), and in mainland Greece at Megara (Dittenberger, *op. cit.*, 331) and Elis (*I. G. A.*, 112: cf. Thucydides, v, 47, where βασιλεῖς is an alternative title for δημιουργοί). For the *basileus* at Delphi see Question 12, p. 73 below. The plural *basileis* is worth noticing, though why there was more than one *basileus* at Kume we do not know. Perhaps a nearer parallel than the φυλοβασιλεῖς at Athens are the βασίλαι who sacrificed to Kronos at Olympia (Paus., vi, 20, 1).

In form the title *phylaktes* may remind us of the Milesian οἱ ἠιρημένοι ἐπὶ τῆι φυλακῆι (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 633, 1, 5, 45, 90; compare Μιλησίων οἱ πρυτάνεις καὶ οἱ ἠιρημένοι ἐπὶ τῆι φυλακῆι Ἠλείων τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ συνέδροις χαίρειν, *ibid.*, 683, 30), but there is no reason to think that these political magistrates had anything to do with the prison. In fact, except for the *phylaktes*, the only other police officers with charge of the prisons, of whom we have record, are *the Eleven* at Athens (Gilbert, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 335).

Question 3

Q. *Who is called the hypekkaustria by the people of Soli?*
A. *The priestess of Athena they call thus, because she performs certain sacrifices and apotropaic ceremonies.*

Παρὰ Σόλοις must be corrected, as Wyttenbach pointed out, either to παρὰ Σολίοις or παρὰ Σολεῦσι, for if Plutarch had wished to say 'at Soli', he would have written ἐν Σόλοις. The first correction, which involves least change, is therefore preferable.

There are two towns called Soli: one, the home of solecism, in Cilicia, the other in Cyprus. According to Diogenes Laertius (*Vit. Sol.*, 4) the ethnic of the first is properly Σολεύς and that of the second Σόλιος, though Stephanus Byzantinus, s.v. Σόλοι, shows that this rule was not always followed. Our Soli may be either in Cilicia or in Cyprus, but the balance of probability slightly favours Cyprus.

There is no indication of Plutarch's source. Of the possible known writers of local histories of Cyprus, Asklepiades of Cyprus, Menander of Ephesus, Palaephatus, and Timomachus are nowhere cited by Plutarch. Next come authors of whose other works Plutarch betrays a knowledge but not of their Cypriote histories. Alexander Polyhistor's περὶ Φρυγίας is quoted in *de mus.*, 5, 1132 F, and an uncertain work in *Q. R.*, 104 (whether at first hand is doubtful, see Rose, *Plutarch's Roman Questions*, p. 27); Philostephanos περὶ εὑρημάτων in *Lycurg.*, 23. Similarly, only the *Atthis* (*Thes.*, 17, 31; *Alcib.*, 21; *de mal. Herod.*, 869 A) and *Aigyptiaka* (*de Is. et Os.*, 364 D) of Hellanikos' works are cited by Plutarch. Again, of Neanthes of Cyzicus, whose περὶ τελετῶν or τὰ κατὰ πόλιν μυθικά might have contained our matter, the *Hellenika* are quoted *Them.*, 29, but the citation from τὰ κατὰ πόλιν μυθικά in *Quaest. Conviv.*, i, 10, 761 is explicitly at second hand.

Possible sources which remain are Paeon of Amathus, who is quoted in *Theseus*, 20, for the story of Ariadne in Cyprus, and Aristotle, *Constitution of the Cypriots*. That this latter existed see Rose, *Frags.* 483, 484. It is nowhere cited by Plutarch, but on the other hand, so much in the *Greek Questions* is derived patently from a careful reading through of the *Aristotelian Constitutions* that upon the whole I am inclined to think it the most probable source.

The title of the priestess is peculiar. That Plutarch would have interpreted it as a Greek word, the meaning of which is 'one who lights a fire underneath', I have no doubt. But though, as Professor Rose reminds me, ὑποκαίειν has a quasi-ritual flavour in Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 69, 'kindler' is without a parallel, so far as I know, as a Greek religious title. The obvious analogy of *flamen* no longer holds good, if *flamen*, as philologists now hold, is not derived from *flare* at all (Rose, *Plutarch's Roman Questions*, p. 180). A variant form of our title is given by Hesychius s. v. ὑπερκάϋστρα, and is glossed simply as 'the priestess of Athena'. This variant form is usually attributed to corruption of the text of Hesychius.

Another peculiarity in the statement of Plutarch is that of all the Olympian gods and goddesses Athena has least to do with apotropaic rites. Though it may well be that Athena was in origin a palace goddess of the chieftains of the Bronze Age (Nilsson, *Die Entstehung der Göttin Athena*), already by the time of Homer she is the most completely Hellenic of all his divine figures. In fact, wherever in the historical cults of Athena there appear to exist associations with mystic or cathartic ritual, there is almost invariably reason to suspect either a local cult-survival from the pre-Hellenic religion of the Bronze Age or the worship of some foreign goddess, who has been identified by the Greeks with their own Athena.

In *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, xxxvi, 1925, pp. 165–

77, I have discussed the matter in some detail, and have suggested the possibility that the cult of Athena at Soli, like that of Athena at Syrian Laodicea or that of Athena, Diomedes, and Agraulos at Salamis in Cyprus, may have been Greek only in the name given to the goddess. If so, it is not impossible that ὑπεκκαύστρια, ὑπερκάϋστρα may not be Greek at all, but Greek forms of some Anatolian word connected with the root *kawa* or *kowo*, from which the Samothracian priestly title Κοίης, the καύεις or priestess of Artemis at Sardis, καύηξ of Hipponax, *Frag.* 2, and perhaps the Greek word γόης seem to be derived. Upon this Anatolian hieratic word see Sayce in *Anatolian Studies presented to Sir William Ramsay*, p. 396; Ramsay, in *J. H. S.*, xl, 1920, p. 198; Buckler and Robinson in *A. J. A.*, xvii, 1913, pp. 362 f.

The two towns called Soli both lie in an area where Greek adoptions of foreign cults are normal and where an Anatolian word might well have survived. If our title is in origin a foreign word to which a Greek dress has been given, the existence of the variant form ὑπερκάϋστρα becomes readily intelligible. We may compare the Samothracian Κοίης, of which similarly the variant form Κόης is recorded.

Question 4

Q. *Who are the Amnemones at Knidos and who is the Aphester?*

A. *They employed sixty men, selected from the aristocracy and appointed for life, as supervisors and to make the preliminary decisions about the most important matters. They were called Amnemones or Unmindful, as one might conjecture, because they could not be brought to account, unless indeed, it were because they were men who were mindful of much (polymnemones). The man who called upon them for their votes was the Aphester.*

This is probably from the lost Aristotelian, *Constitution of the Knidians*, and figures in Giessen's fourth category of uncertain but probable examples (Giessen, *op. cit.*, pp. 445–6). No direct citation from the *Constitution of the Knidians* is recorded, but references to Knidos in the *Politics* suggest that it was not absent from the Aristotelian series of collections of constitutional data.

Aristotle (*Pol.*, v, 6, 4, 1305 b) mentions Knidos as an example of the closest form of oligarchy, in which the heads of families alone took part in the government, a type of which Massalia, Istros, Herakleia, the Elean state before 580 B. C., and possibly Opuntian Lokris afford examples (Whibley, *op. cit.*, pp. 122 f.; Busolt, *Staatskunde*, p. 358). Father and son could not hold office together, and if there were several brothers, the eldest only was admitted. This led to dissensions in the aristocracy itself of

which the people took advantage to overthrow the oligarchy. Now Knidos was a colony of Lacedaemon which subsequently came under Persian rule, and presumably, like the other subject Greek states, was ruled by a tyrant as agent of the Persian government. But unlike other Asiatic towns it seems to have reverted to an oligarchy of a very early type, if Ottfried Müller is right in thinking that government by heads of families endured until shortly before Aristotle's time, and that the democracy, to which Eudoxos of Knidos (*floruit* 366 B. C.) is said to have given its laws, succeeded the revolution to which Aristotle refers. On this see Gilbert, *op. cit.*, ii, pp. 170–1.

The titles *amnemones* and *aphester* remain something of a mystery. Titles such as *hieromnemones*, *mnemones*, and the like (καὶ τούτοις ἄλλα ὀνόματα σύνεγγυς), as described by Aristotle (*Politics*, vi, 8, 7, 1321 b), were applied rather to officials of the nature of registrars, whose function it was to register "all private contracts and decisions of the courts, all public indictments and also all preliminary proceedings". The board of *mnemones* at Halikarnassos (Dittenberger, *Syll.*, 45; Hicks and Hill, 27) were clearly annual registrars, who controlled the property which had been confiscated under Lygdamis, and was now to be handed over to its original owners under the terms of the political settlement. The *mnamon* of Dittenberger, *Syll.*, 638 appears to be chairman of a board of arbitrators.

Plutarch's two explanations appear to be 'his own inventions'. The first gives the word the ordinary meaning of ἀμνήμων, 'unmindful', 'forgetting'; ἀμνημονέω, 'I am unmindful'. He explains it as meaning that these oligarchic officials, unlike Athenian officials, were not obliged to submit the record of their official actions to the scrutiny of the popular courts or any other body.

The second explanation is introduced by the phrase εἰ μὴ νὴ Δία, which in the *Roman Questions* is habitually used by Plutarch as a formula for introducing his own view of the right solution (Rose, *Plutarch's Roman Questions*, p. 49). Whether it has that force here may be doubted, and I am not certain whether this second alternative is not semi-jocular. 'Anyhow they deserve their title on the *lucus a non lucendo* principle.' But if it is serious, it might be taken as suggesting that the prefix α is not here privative but intensive, as, for example, in ἀτενής.

Whatever the meaning of their title the functions of the *amnemones* are clear. They constitute the executive committee which possesses the initiative in this narrow oligarchy. What they initiated would then be referred to the meeting of those who possessed political privileges, and in this, no doubt, like that of the Homeric Phaeacians (*Od.* vii, 11, 16, 26), only the noble heads of families took part (Busolt, *Staatskunde*, i, p. 362). In fact the position of the *amnemones* appears closely analogous to that of the *artunoi* at Epidauros.

The number 60, as already noticed (p. 41 above), is frequent in oligarchical constitutions, of which the life tenure of magistracies is also a usual feature. The term *probouloi*, i. e. members of a committee which controls the initiation of all political action, is familiar from Athenian constitutional history. ἐπίσκοποι, again, is a characteristic oligarchic word, implying, as it does, undefined and therefore indefinite powers. Thus the Council of the Areopagus is described in Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, viii, 4, as ἐπίσκοπος οὖσα τῆς πολιτείας, and with our προβούλοις τῶν μεγίστων may be compared the phrase used of it in iii, 6, διῴκει δὲ τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει

The *Aphester* was clearly the chairman of this executive committee. The title survived at Knidos as the name of an official, whose functions are unknown, in imperial times, *S. G. D. I.*, iii, No. 3505. Wyttenbach suggested that the title arose from the chairman's sitting or standing apart (ἀφέζεσθαι or ἀφέσταναι), while the *Amnemones* he thought derived their names from sitting together, 'una sedentes uel una manentes, quasi ἀμήμονες ab ἅμα ἧσθαι uel ἀμενήμονες simul manentes in unum congregati'. The suggestions do not seem very probable. Professor Rose suggests to me that the latter word may really be ἀμ-μνήμονες, i. e. ἀναμιμνήσκοντες or *monitores*.

For *Aphester*, Grote first drew attention to the connexion of this title with the archaic vocabulary of Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 6. Unfortunately, this too is a passage of great difficulty: (for a summary of rival interpretations see Busolt, *Staatskunde*, i, p. 43). It would appear, however, to establish the very early use in Sparta of the technical terms ἀποστατήρ and ἀφίστασθαι, of which the former seems to mean 'one who dissolves a meeting', and the latter 'to break up or dissolve a meeting'. In Professor Myres's view (*The Political Ideas of the Greeks*, pp. 77–9) the word ἀρχή derives its sense of official authority or power from the fact that the president initiates the proceedings. Our title refers rather to the president's power of bringing proceedings to a close, and this, it may be noticed, is the power of Themis, the true presiding officer of assemblies, which Homer (*Odyssey* ii, 68) puts first:

λίσσομαι ἤμεν Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἠδὲ Θέμιστος
ἥ τ' ἀνδρῶν ἀγορὰς ἠμὲν λύει ἠδὲ καθίζει.

Persons with experience of more modern committees will not be inclined to underestimate the value of this power of good chairmen.

Gilbert (*op. cit.*, ii, p. 171) may, however, be right in explaining that the *Aphester* derived his title from the chairman's power to take a division. He quotes the action of the presiding ephor in Thucydides, i, 87 'ὅτῳ μὲν ὑμῶν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, δοκοῦσι λελύσθαι αἱ σπονδαὶ καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀδικεῖν, ἀναστήτω ἐς ἐκεῖνο τὸ χωρίον,' δείξας τι χωρίον αὐτοῖς, 'ὅτῳ δὲ μὴ δοκοῦσιν, ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα'. ἀναστάντες δὲ διέστησαν.

Question 5

Q. *Who are 'the auspicious' among the Arcadians and Lacedaemonians?*

A. *The Lacedaemonians became reconciled with the people of Tegea, made a treaty, and jointly set up a pillar on the Alpheios, upon which, amongst other things, was written, "to cast out the Messenians from the land and it is not to be lawful to make 'auspicious'." Aristotle, then, commenting upon this, explains that it means that no one is to be condemned to death on account of having helped the Laconising party in Tegea.*

The source is Aristotle, Τεγεάτων πολιτεία; Rose, *Frag.* 550 = *F. H. G.*, Müller, ii, p. 134, *Frag.* 90. The same passage is quoted in Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.*, 52.

The treaty which is in question may have belonged to the war of Sparta with Tegea in the middle of the sixth century B. C. (Herodotus, i, 67 f.; see Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, ii, p. 765; Kahrstedt, *Griechisches Staatsrecht*, i, p. 109).

Χρηστός, which defies adequate translation in this passage, as applied to divine beings, means 'benevolently powerful': e. g. ὡς κατὰ λόγον ἦσαν ἄρα αἱ Ἀθῆναι μεγάλαι τε καὶ εὐδαίμονες, εἰ καὶ θεῶν χρηστῶν ἥκοιεν εὖ, Herodotus, viii, 111. Like μάκαρ, μακάριος, μακαρίτης, the use of which in the common speech of Athens is well established in the fifth century (e. g. Aristophanes, *Frag.* 488, Kock), χρηστός came to be commonly used as an euphemism for the departed. The Curious Man (Theophrastus, *Characters*, xiii, 3) writes that his wife and relations χρηστοὶ ἦσαν. χρηστὲ χαῖρε is common upon gravestones,[1] and an epitaph (Kaibel, *Epigr. Graec.*, 137) runs:

πάνθ' ὅσα τοῖς χρηστοῖς φθίμενοις νόμος ἐστὶ γενέσθαι,
τῶνδε τυχὼν κἀγὼ τόνδε τάφον κατέχω.

See further Rohde, *Psyche*, ii, pp. 346–7. χρηστοὺς ποιεῖν is a curious euphemistic circumlocution to find in a treaty, and the probable date of the stele is interesting as fixing the current use of this type of euphemism for the dead a century earlier than our literary records; but about the meaning of the phrase there is no doubt whatever.

Wyttenbach here refers to Hesychius χρηστοί· οἱ καταδεδικασμένοι and χρησμός· τιμωρία. 'Repetenda notis ex prima origine uerborum χράω, χραύω, χραίνω, χρίω in quibus est uis pungendi, stringendi.' More probable is the explanation, which Professor

[1] Upon Attic gravestones only of foreigners, generally slaves. This was because μακαρίτης was the usual word in Attic usage, Rohde, *Psyche*, i, p. 308, n. 1.

Rose suggests to me, that χρηστοί was used as an euphemism for βιαιοθάνατοι. For a parallel he refers to the Sicilian cult of *decollati* (executed criminals), which is described in *Folk-lore*, xxi, pp. 165 f. For a Cyprian invocation of βιαιοθάνατοι see Nock, *Sallustius*, pp. xcii, 217.

Question 6

Q. *Who is called the Barley Picker among the Opuntians?*

A. *The majority of the Greeks used barley corn for the preliminary offerings by the citizens in the very ancient sacrifices. The director, then, of sacrificial matters, who provides these preliminary offerings, they called Barley Picker.*

And they had two priests, one appointed to deal with the affairs of the gods, and the other with the affairs of daimones.

It is not improbable that Giessen's suggestion (*op. cit.*, p. 465) that this is derived from Aristotle's *Constitution of the Opuntian Lokrians* is correct. For the existence of the work see Rose, *Frags.* 519–23, and *F. H. G.*, Müller, ii, p. 145. *Q. G.* 15 (see below, p. 83) may also be derived from this source.

ἀπαρχαί in historical times could be used of tithes or offerings of first-fruits, for example, the tithe paid to Eleusis or even the ἀπαρχὴ τοῦ φόρου which Athena claimed from the tribute of her city's subject states. But the original meaning is the preliminary offering made to the gods at a sacrifice or before a meal. Thus in *Odyssey* xiv, 422 Eumaios begins by cutting off the hairs from the boar's head (ἀπαρχόμενος κεφαλῆς τρίχας), then parts of all the limbs are set aside (πάντων ἀρχόμενος μελέων, 428), then the special portion for Hermes and the Nymphs (436), and finally, before the meal begins, the ἄργματα are sacrificed (446).

In the ordinary ritual of sacrifice ἀπαρχαί became specialized in the sense of the preliminary sacrifice made before the victim was offered. After sprinkling with water, corn grains mixed with salt were handed round and were thrown by all those partaking of the sacrifice upon the altar and the victim. For such purposes in the ancient rituals unground corn was used. The use of meal or flour, though attested by the existence of divinatory sub-rites of ἀλφιτομαντεῖα or ἀλευρομαντεῖα, as well as of κριθομαντεῖα (cf. also Hesychius, φάμμη· ἀλφίτα, φαμμάστρια· τὰ ψαιστὰ καὶ ἑορτή τις, and Kratinos, *Frag.* 21 (Kock) ὁ βοῦς ἐκεῖνος χὴ μαγὶς καὶ τἄλφιτα) was a secondary development. On this see Eitrem, *Opferritus und Voropfer*, p. 263.

The use of barley for this purpose as opposed to that of other sorts of grain was no doubt rightly explained by the antiquity of

its use as human food. In historical times barley cake was mainly used for fodder for animals (Pliny, *N. H.*, xviii, 7, (14), 74), and in Caesar, *de Bell. Ciu.*, iii, 47, 6, we find that 'summis in angustiis' at Dyrrachium Caesar's men "non illis hordeum cum daretur, non legumina recusabant." But barley corns were said to be the first kind of food which the gods had given to man. τοῦ δὲ Δημητρείου καρποῦ μετὰ τὸν χέδροπα πρώτου φανέντος κριθῶν, ταύταις ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μὲν οὐλοχυτεῖτο κατὰ τὰς πρώτας θυσίας τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος (Porphyry, *de abst.*, ii, 6, from Theophrastus: cf. Artemidoros, *On.* i, 69).

The name of our official is explained by the fact that the grain which was used for religious purposes needed to be carefully chosen. Thus, in the regulations connected with the tithe paid to Eleusis we read τὰς δὲ πόλεις [ἐγ]λ[ογ]έας *h*ελέσθαι τ�ôι καρπ�ôι καθότι ἂν δοκεῖ αὐτῆσι ἄριστα ὁ καρπὸ[s] ἐγλεγέσεσθαι (Dittenberger, *Syll.*, 83, l. 15). In the regulations of the cult at Lykosoura the use for sacrificial purposes of ὁλοαῖς αἰρολογεμέναις is prescribed, i. e. σῖτοι καθαροὶ αἰρῶν (Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.*, viii, 4, 6), or corn from which the darnel has been carefully removed (Dittenberger, *op. cit.*, 999, l. 15. For the process compare Aristophanes, *Frag.* 480 (Kock), ὥσπερ αἰρόπινον τέτρηται). I have therefore translated *Krithologos* Barley Picker rather than Gatherer of Barley, for his duties seem to have been to select or pick over the corn which was to be used in the preliminary sacrifice.

The origin of the custom of opening the ritual of sacrifice with the preliminary sprinkling of corn on the ground, on the altar, and perhaps on the victim[1] has given rise to considerable discussion. Stengel (*Kultusalt.*, pp. 109–10) regards it as originally an offering to Earth. Samter and Eitrem, on the other hand, are convinced that it is a survival of a preliminary offering to the spirits of the dead, an explanation which they extend also to the καταχύσματα of corn, coins, dates, figs, nuts, &c., which were showered upon brides, upon newly acquired slaves when they joined the household, and upon members of a sacred embassy or *theoria* (Samter, *Familienfeste*, pp. 9 foll.; Eitrem, *op. cit.*, pp. 261–80). They support their contention with a number of alleged parallels, but it is not clear that either καταχύσματα, to their explanation of which there is in any case serious objection (see Nilsson, *G. F.*, p. 204; Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, 5th ed., ii, pp. 473 f.), or the various alleged analogies from folk-lore practice which are quoted, are in fact identical with ἀπαρχαί and therefore demand the same explanation. Believing as I do, that the worship of the dead was relatively late in Greece and secondary to hero-worship, the explanation of what is evidently a very ancient rite indeed, as originating in ancestor-worship, seems to me improbable.

[1] Von Fritze, *Hermes*, xxxii, p. 237, questions whether the sprinkling of the victim is genuinely a Greek rite. He suspects confusion with the Roman *mola salsa*.

Indeed, as to the origin of the rite I do not believe that we have sufficient evidence to warrant even a probable guess. That in historical times, like the sprinkling of water which immediately preceded it, it was regarded as purifying the participants in the sacrifice or prayer (see *Odyssey* v, 750 f., and Ziehen, *Hermes*, xxxvii, pp. 393 f.), there seems considerable probability. In *Q. G.* 46 (below, p. 189) vetch (ὄροβον) is used for purificatory purposes at Tralles. In the preliminary rites of testing the victims at Delphi, barley meal was offered to oxen and pulse (ἐρέβινθος) to boars (Plutarch, *de def. orac.*, 49, 437).

In the cult of Demeter at Kos the priestess and other persons who had become impure through the infringement of certain specified taboos were to be cleansed by water from a golden jug and grain from a προσπερμεία (ἀπὸ χρυσίου καὶ προσπερμείας καθαρθήτω καὶ περιρανθήτω, Herzog, *A. R. W.*, x (1907), pp. 402, 409). For the use of οὐλαί or κριθαί as complementary to sprinkling with water in Greek rituals of purification Herzog refers to Hock, *Griechische Weihegebräuche*, Würzburg, Diss., 1905. This I have not seen, but the relative passages are fully discussed by Stengel, *Hermes*, xxix, pp. 627 f.; von Fritze, *ibid.*, xxxii, pp. 235 f.; and Ziehen, *ibid.*, xxxvii, pp. 391 f.

Of the other two priests who are mentioned in our question, we know nothing further. It is true that τὰ δαιμόνια as opposed to τὰ θεῖα might include other than chthonian powers, e. g. local nymphs. The distinction intended, however, is that probably between the worship of gods and that of heroes and underworld powers.

ὕπατοί τε θεοί, καὶ βαρύτιμοι
χθόνιοι θήκας κατέχοντες.

Aeschylus, *Supp.* 24.

In Greek cult the antithesis is clearly marked. The sacrifice to Olympian deities was in general offered at an altar, the victim's head was held upwards as its throat was cut, and the worshippers subsequently partook of the flesh of the sacrificial animal: when offering was made to the powers of the underworld, the head of the victim, which was usually black in colour, was held downwards, its throat was cut into a pit or trench, its flesh was entirely consumed by fire (ὁλοκαύτωμα) on a low hearth (ἐσχάρα), and the worshippers did not usually partake of it at all.

Question 7

Q. *What are the Floating Clouds?*

A. *Those which are particularly rainy and move about they call Floating, as Theophrastus has said in the fourth book of his Metarsia. The passage runs "for these floating clouds and compact clouds, which are stationary and very white in colour, display a difference in substance, since this is neither filled with water nor with wind".*

This fragment of Theophrastus is not contained in Wimmer's edition. The number and titles of these meteorological works of Theophrastus have given rise to discussion. Diogenes Laertius, v, 43, 44, 47, mentions among the writings of Theophrastus τῆς μεταρσιολεσχίας α′, β′, μεταρσιολογικῶν α′, β′, περὶ μετεώρων. Clearly our *Metarsia* is identical with the second of these. Now Aristotle includes atmospheric phenomena under μετεωρολογικά, for which Theophrastus, on the other hand, never uses μετέωρος and compounds, but μετάρσιος and compounds. μετάρσια, in fact, was a word which previously had been foreign to Attic Greek, being a loan from Ionian science, and it was perhaps for that very reason conveniently precise for the purposes of Theophrastus, who wanted a technical term for matters belonging to the atmospheric as opposed to the stellar sphere (see Capelle's two articles in *Philologus*, lxxi, pp. 414–56). In view of Theophrastus's deliberate and consistent use of his new label, Capelle (*Hermes*, xlviii, 1913, pp. 333 f.) rejects the title περὶ μετεώρων as a blunder. Our references then will apply to two works only, of which one was properly entitled Μεταρσιολογικά and contained, as our passage shows, at least four books; the other was probably a tract περὶ τῆς [Δημοκρίτου] μεταρσιολεσχίας.

The meaning of ἐκπνευματοῦν seems to be fixed by Epicurus (Diog. Laert., x, 105 = Bailey, *Epicurus*, p. 70) in the sense of "to fill with wind" or "to fan into wind", a reference which I owe to Mr. Cyril Bailey. The passage, which deals with the theory of earthquakes, runs as follows: καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦτο ἢ ἔξωθεν ἐμπεριλαμβάνει ⟨ἢ⟩ ἐκ τοῦ πίπτειν εἴσω ἐδάφη εἰς ἀντροειδεῖς τόπους τῆς γῆς ἐκπνευματοῦντα τὸν ἐπειλημμένον ἀέρα. ἐξυδατοῦν must be a similar technical phrase. The statement of Theophrastus does not seem to amount to more than a distinction between mobile rainclouds and white stationary clouds which, owing to their different composition, are neither windy nor watery.

Question 8

Q. *Who is the platuchaitas among the Boeotians?*

A. *Next door neighbours or persons whose lands adjoin theirs they call thus, using an Aeolism, inasmuch as they possess the neighbouring property. And I will quote in evidence one phrase out of many more from the Thesmophylakian Law. . . .*

There is no indication of the source of this question, and the possible field seems too wide to allow of profitable speculation. That it is derived from some book, the analogy of the other questions makes probable. The word might have occurred in one of the Aristotelian *Constitutions*, e. g. Θηβαίων or Ὀρχομενίων; it might equally well have been mentioned by Aristophanes the

Boeotian, who is cited by Plutarch, *de mal. Herod.* 31, or by Polemon, whose works other than his Βοιωτικά were known to Plutarch. Obviously it may also be culled from some book dealing with Boeotia, which was known to Plutarch but unknown to us.

The passage appears to be incomplete and the promised quotation from the Thesmophylakian Law to be missing.[1] What precisely this document was appears to be unknown, and I can trace no other reference to its existence. θεσμοί was the old-fashioned word for "laws", which in Attic Greek was superseded by νόμοι in the fifth century B.C. (Busolt, *Staatskunde*, i, p. 456). Outside Attica officials called *thesmophylakes* are recorded in Elis (Thucydides, v, 47), in Iulis in Keos (*I. G.*, xii, 5, 595 B), and at Thespiae in Boeotia (τεθμοφύλακες in *I. G.*, vii, 3172). Nothing is known of these officials beyond the name (Busolt, *Staatskunde*, ii, p. 1442).

It would seem legitimate, however, to suppose that these *thesmophylakes* correspond to the *nomophylakes* of Aristotle, *Politics*, iv, 14, 14, 1298 (cf. *ibid.*, vi, 8, 23, 1323 A), who constitute an elected aristocratical board with probouleutic functions. But their name implies that part of their duties was similar to that of the Athenian *thesmothetai*, ὅπως ἀναγράψαντες τὰ θέσμια φυλάττωσι πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀμφισβητούντων κρίσιν (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 3, 4), and like the *thesmothetai* they may well have made a yearly revision of the law (for this function of the *thesmothetai* see Aeschines, *in Ctes.* 38: for a discussion of the character of the process and the resultant code see Myres, *Political Ideas of the Greeks*, pp. 126 f., 142). The Thesmophylakian Law may then be supposed to have been a body of law, the character of which in some respects resembled an *edictum perpetuum*, and the name of which is derived from the fact that its growth and maintenance was the duty of the *thesmophylakes*.

For Boeotian as an Aeolic dialect see Thumb, *Gr. Dial.*, p. 208. πλατι- would be good Boeotian for Attic πλησι- (*ibid.*, p. 226). "Aeolismus intellegi potest in πλάτυς pro πλήσιος", says Wyttenbach, "at in χαίτας pro ἔχων nimis apparet: notio quidem habendi a uerbo χάω, χαίω, cupio, complector, locum obtinet". Here the judgement of Daniel is for once at fault. Herwerden (*Lex. Graec. supp. et dial.*, second edition, 1910, p. 1180) now adopts Ahrens's improvement πλατιωχέτας on Schneider's πλατωχέτας, which was suggested by the analogy of ὁμωχέτας δαίμονας (Thucydides, iv, 97). Bechtel (*Die griechischen Dialekte*, i, pp. 247, 309) probably rightly considers the correct form to be πλατιοικέτας for πλατιϝοικέτας, the υ for οι being perhaps a blunder of Plutarch.

[1] Mr. Nock suggests to me that the quotation given is from the Thesmophylakian Law. He suggests reading παραθήσομαι δὲ (τήνδε). Against this, however, is the future tense, and the force of παρα which suggests that Plutarch intended to quote an analogy.

Question 9

Q. *What is the consecrator* (ὁσιωτήρ) *among the Delphians and why do they call one of the months Busios?*

A. *Consecrator, indeed, is the name which they give to the beast which is sacrificed when a Hosios has been ordained. Now there are five Hosioi who are appointed for life, and they perform most of the rites with the Prophetai and share the religious duties with them, inasmuch as they are thought to be descended from Deukalion.*

But the month Busios most people believe to be the month of growing (Φύσιος). *For it is the beginning of spring and most things grow then and put forth shoots. But the true explanation is otherwise; for the Delphians do not use "b" for "ph" like the Macedonians, who say "Bilippos" and "balakros" and "Beronike", but for "p". For they generally say "batein" for "patein" and "bikron" for "pikron". "Busios", then, is "Pusios", in which they make inquiry* (πυστιῶνται) *and get responses* (πυνθάνονται) *from the god. For this is the regular local rule.*

For in this month oracles were given, and the seventh day of it they regard as the birthday of the god; and they call it Poluphthoös not because of the baking of cakes (*phthoïs*) *but because it is a day of much-inquiring and of many oracles. For the opening of the oracle to inquirers every month is a recent practice; formerly the Pythia gave responses but once a year and on this day, as Kallisthenes and Anaxandridas have recorded.*

Whence Plutarch drew his question is not indicated. It is not impossible that both words occurred in the *Constitution of the Delphians*, for the existence of which see Rose, *Frag.* 445, but we do not know that they did. The answers in the main are Plutarch's own. His personal interest and his official position (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 829 A), which gave him access to the best information, lend a special importance to his statements about details of cult at Delphi.

Anaxandridas, whom Plutarch quotes, was a Delphian whose name is sometimes incorrectly given, as in the MSS. here, as Alexandrides (Schol. Aristoph., *Plut.* 924, Schol. Eur., *Orest.* 1632) or Alexandros (Steph. Byz., Παρνασσός, Λύλη). He was attacked by his younger contemporary Polemo (*floruit* 204–180 B.C.) and may therefore be placed at the end of the third century B.C. He has been identified with Anaxandridas Chairephaneus who appears on inscriptions (225–182 B.C.). So Pomtow *ap.* Hiller, *P. W.*, ix, p. 2523. Of his two works, both of several books, the treatise

On the Votive Offerings in Delphi which were plundered is quoted by Plutarch in *Lysander*, 18, and perhaps in *Solon*, 11, but the source here quoted is more probably the treatise *About the Delphic Oracle*. See L. Weniger, *de Anaxandrida, Polemone, Hegesandro rerum Delphicarum scriptoribus*, Berlin, 1865 ; Tresp, *F. G. K.*, p. 115.

Kallisthenes of Olynthos, who is evidently also the source of Plutarch, *de Pyth. Orac.*, 8, 397 (cf. Cicero, *de diu.*, i, 34, 74), was the nephew and pupil of Aristotle, who fatally incurred the wrath of Alexander. The books of his *Hellenika*, which dealt with the period from the King's Peace to the seizing of Delphi by the Phokians, were published before 334 B.C. See Schwartz, 'Kallisthenes' Hellenika', *Hermes*, xxxv (1900), pp. 106–30. Our fragment is numbered 49 in Jacoby, *F. H. G.*, ii B, p. 655.

For "the consecrator" (*hosiôtêr*) this is our sole source of information. Miss Harrison (*Prolegomena*, pp. 301 f.) has suggested that it represented Dionysos as a bull and that the sacrifice was of the type in which the god himself is slain in his animal form. For this there is no evidence other than analogies of dubious relevance, and we do not even know whether the sacrifice was made to Dionysos. Further, if Miss Harrison were right, we should expect the name to be given to the animal sacrificed upon some public seasonal festival and not, as Plutarch implies, to be exclusively applied to the bull sacrificed at the consecration of a Hosios. The name '*hosiôtêr*' is surely not unintelligible as applied to the beast sacrificed at a ceremony of consecration.

The five Hosioi were appointed for life, apparently by lot, from among the members of the families eligible.[1] The vesting in particular families of the higher priesthoods of cults which were of antiquity and importance is a common phenomenon in Greece.

The Hosioi claimed descent from Deukalion, whose grandson or great grandson Delphos, the eponym of Delphi, was reputed to be (see refs. in Roscher, *Lex.*, *s. v.* Delphos). In one version the ark had grounded upon Parnassos, and here Deukalion had founded Lykoreia, just to the east of the Korycian cave, which provided the sole shelter of the Thyiads during their winter festival upon the mountain top. From Lykoreia Delphi had subsequently been founded.

Now their descent from Deukalion has been used in various attempts to decide the original character of the Hosioi. But owing to the general tendency for localities with aspirations to

[1] Euripides, *Ion* 414 :

> ἡμεῖς τά γ' ἔξω, τῶν ἔσω δ' ἄλλοις μέλει,
> οἳ πλησίον θάσσουσι τρίποδος, ὦ ξένε,
> Δελφῶν ἀριστῆς, οὓς ἐκλήρωσεν πάλος.

I take this to include the Hosioi and the Prophetes, for normally one Prophetes and several Hosioi seem to have been present when the Pythia gave responses (see below, p. 59).

immemorial antiquity to claim for themselves the story of the beginnings of the human race, this Deukalionid ancestry has no evidential value. The story of Deukalion and the Flood no doubt was originally Thessalian. The connexion with Delphi is perhaps as early as Hesiod. The Lokrians too claimed that the ark had landed at Kunos, the port of Opous (Hellanikos, *Frag.* 117, Jacoby). Later Athens attempted to establish a claim upon Deukalion (Paus., i, 18, 7–8). He was made to be the father of Amphiktyon, and the festivals *Hydrophoria* and *Chutroi* in the month *Anthesterion* were connected with the Flood legend. (For the Athenian Deukalion saga see Jacoby, *Marmor Parium*, pp. 30 f. and references there given.) Later still, probably at the end of the fifth century, Dodona claimed to have been the place at which Deukalion landed. See references in P. R., i, pp. 84–7, 123, n. 1.

We may therefore reject theories which attach an undue significance to the Deukalionid ancestry of the Hosioi. I should agree with Dempsey (*Delphic Oracle*, pp. 190–1) that A. Mommsen's theory (*Delphika*, pp. 256–7) that the Hosioi were originally priests of a hypothetical archaic cult of Prometheus has no substantial foundation, that Miss Harrison's argument (*Prolegomena*, pp. 500 f.) that since Deukalion came from Thessaly, and Thessaly like Thrace is north of Delphi, therefore the Hosioi were immigrant priests of Dionysos, lacks cogency, and that Bouché-Leclerq's view (*Histoire de la Divination*, iii, p. 50) that they represent the survival of a prehistoric corporation of priests analogous to the Selloi at Dodona is unsupported by evidence and is in itself improbable.

The name Hosioi has been thought to betray Orphic influence (Nilsson, *G. F.*, p. 285). The word means 'clean' or ceremonially pure, and it was applied in a technical sense to those who had been initiated into the mysteries, ὅσιοι μύσται, as one should say 'the saved' (see Rohde, *Psyche*, i, p. 288, n. 1). That the Hosioi played a part in what was essentially a Dionysiac festival is clear from Plutarch, *Is. et Os.*, 35, 365 A, where we are told that they performed a mystic sacrifice in the temple of Apollo, "when the Thyiades waken Liknites". Liknites was the infant Dionysos in the winnowing fan, and the ceremony, to which Plutarch alludes as being parallel to the resurrection ritual of Osiris, would seem to be one of the resurrection of the infant god after his dismemberment and burial. (See Harrison, *Prolegomena*, p. 401, and Farnell, *C. G. S.*, v, pp. 186–9; in view of the context of the statement in Plutarch, Farnell would seem over cautious.)

The tendency, however, which is sometimes shown (e.g. Dempsey, *Delphic Oracle*, pp. 191–2), to regard the Hosioi as being concerned rather with the Dionysiac than with the Apolline element in Delphic ritual, goes beyond the evidence. Even at the wakening of Liknites it is in the temple of Apollo that they perform their sacrifice, and it is inaccurate with Dempsey to say

that they perform sacrifices *to* Dionysos. Whether they did or not, we have no means of knowing.

We are here told that they share the religious duties of the Prophetai and perform most of the rites with them. In Plutarch, *de def. orac.*, 49, 437 A, the Hosioi take part in the preliminary tests of the victims before the consultation of the oracle, and upon the disastrous occasion, when the adverse signs were forcibly surmounted, Nikander the Prophetes and "those of the Hosioi who were present" fled with the θεόπροποι when the Pythia became distraught. At least one Prophetes and some of the Hosioi were therefore present when the Pythia gave utterance to the god's reply, and these must be the persons intended in Euripides, *Ion*, 414 (see p. 57, note 1 above). It was doubtless their duty to interpret into intelligible language the ravings of the Pythia, and upon grounds of general probability, Farnell (*C. G. S.*, iv, pp. 189–97) would seem to be justified in regarding the Hosioi as the persons who in fact directed the policy of the oracle.

Prophetes or *promantis*, for the words are used interchangeably, means the human agent who interprets the word of God (see Plato, *Timaeus*, 72). The Pythia herself is often called *prophetis* in this sense (e.g. Euripides, *Ion*, 42, 321; Plato, *Phaedrus*, 244; Plutarch, *de def. orac.*, 8, 414 B). But the *Prophetai* here mentioned are temple officials, perhaps identical with the two *hiereis*, who were appointed for life (Hiller in *P. W.*, iv, p. 2533).[1] Similar functionaries existed at other oracles. At Branchidae they were appointed by lot, *C. I. G.*, 2884. From Herodotus, viii, 145, and Plutarch, *de def. orac.*, 5 it would seem that the *prophetes* or *promantis* of Ptoan Apollo (for whom see Dittenberger, *Syll.*, 635, 13; Strabo, ix, 2, 34, 413; *B. C. H.*, xiv, p. 1, n. 1, p. 53, n. 14) actually gave the responses. For *prophetai* at Miletus and Korope see Dittenberger, *Syll.*, 633, 20, 1157, 2; at Argos *B. C. H.*, xxvii, 274.[2]

At Delphi the actual responses were given by the Pythia, but her utterances needed to be made intelligible and, in the earlier period,[3] to be turned into hexameters. The *prophetai* may then have been identical with the poets mentioned by Strabo, ix, 3, 5, 419, and Plutarch, *de Pyth. orac.*, 25, 407 B as having formed part

[1] The two *hiereis* are established for the second century B.C. by inscriptions, e.g. Homolle, *Fouilles de Delphes*, iii, 2, Nos. 65, 66, 118, 121. Nikander, who is named *prophetes* in *de def. orac.*, 51, is called ἱερεύς in *de Ei ap. Delph.*, 5.

[2] A full history of the word is given by E. Faschen, Προφήτης (Töpelmann, Giessen, 1927). I owe this reference to Mr. Nock.

[3] Cicero (*de diu.*, ii, 56, 116) says that before the time of Pyrrhus, Apollo had ceased to give oracles in verse. This is loosely accurate. Prose oracles are not unknown before Pyrrhus, and some metrical oracles occur later. It is true, however, that in Hellenistic times prose gradually ousted verse as the normal vehicle of the god's prophecies (see Hiller in *P. W.*, iv, p. 2536).

of the establishment of the temple. Herodotus, v, 36, would seem to imply that there was but one *prophetes*, and only one, Nikander, was present when the Pythia went mad. But Plutarch's plural here is explicit (cf. Aelian, *Nat. An.*, x, 26).

The probable explanation is that there were two *prophetai* or *hiereis* appointed for life, but only one was on duty at a time. The duty probably consisted in rendering the Pythia's ravings into intelligible hexameters or prose, and it was carried out under the personal supervision of some members of the board of Hosioi.

In Roscher's view (*Abhandl. Sächs. Gesellsch. Wiss.*, xxiv, 1904, pp. 17–18, and *Philologus*, lx, p. 366) the five *Hosioi* and the two *Prophetai* together made up a board of priests analogous to the Apolline choruses of seven members. He also suggests that the seven companions at the festival of *Septerion* (see p. 68 below) consisted of representatives of the '*Hosierfamilien*'. On these points no evidence exists.

With regard to Plutarch's observations upon phonetics, the interchange of β and ϕ is a commonplace of Greek etymologists, and was used for the theory that the word ὀβολός was derived from ὀφείλω (Pollux, ix, 77, *Et. Mag. s. vv.* ὀφέλλω and ὀβελίσκος). The Macedonian preference for the *b* sound is shown in the title name Bruges of Europe as compared with the Phruges of Asia. The Delphian tendency to turn *p* into *b* may be seen in βρυτανευόντων for πρυτανευόντων (Bechtel, *Die gr. Dialekte*, ii, p. 107).

The Delphic month *Busios* (*S. G. D. I.*, 1858, 1859, 1873, 1928, 2086, 2225) was equivalent to the month *Lukeios* at Chaleion (*S. G. D. I.*, 2144) and corresponded to the Attic month *Anthesterion*, which, if we accept the obvious connexion with *anthos*, suggests that there is more to be said for the popular interpretation of the name than Plutarch will allow. Compare the Roman month names *Maius* and *Aprilis*. A. Mommsen (*Delphika*, p. 280) adopts the derivation from φυέσθαι and Miss Harrison (*Prolegomena*, p. 500) appears to agree with him, although for *Anthesterion* she finds it necessary to invoke the exceedingly improbable derivation, which was suggested by Verrall, from a hypothetical root θες- "to cast a spell" (*op. cit.*, pp. 47–9).

Plutarch's own suggestion is probably wrong, though Nilsson (*Die Entstehung und religiöse Bedeutung des griechischen Kalenders*, p. 52) seems inclined to accept it, but it conforms with an etymological theory which was very popular in antiquity. In accordance with this the names Pytho, Pythios, &c., were derived from πυνθάνεσθαι (cf. Plutarch, *de Ei*, 2, 385 B. For other references to this derivation see further Roscher, *Lex.*, iii, p. 3398; P.R., i, p. 241, n. 1.)

Apollo's connexion with the seventh day of the month is well established. Whereas most of the older festivals of Greece fall at or near the full moon, the festivals of Apollo fall without exception on the seventh (Nilsson, *Primitive Time Reckoning*, pp. 333, 366). The belief that the god was born on the seventh is as old as the

appendix to Hesiod (*Works and Days*, 770). But the month varied. At Cyrene it was celebrated on 7th *Karneios*, at Delos and Athens upon 7th *Thargelion*, upon which Plato also was born (Diog. Laert., *Vita Platonis*, 6; Plutarch, *Quaest. Conuiu.*, viii, 1, 717 D-E). From this he got his cult titles *Hebdomagenes* (Plutarch, *Quaest. Conuiu.*, viii, 1, 717 D), *Hebdomagetes*, and *Ebdomeios* (see refs. P. R., i, pp. 238, 247). The statement of Naeuius (Macrobius, *Sat.*, vi, 5, 8) that the Delphians claimed that the birth took place at Delphi is probably mistaken (see P. R., i, p. 23, n. 3).

The 7th *Busios* was regarded at Delphi as the day of the god's return. During the three winter months the paean was silent and only the dithyramb was heard: Apollo was absent with the Hyperboreans and Dionysos reigned alone. Although Herodotus (i, 51) may have confused the *Theophania* with the *Theoxenia* which fell later in the year, the festival of the epiphany of the god (*Theophania*) was probably celebrated on *Busios* 7. On this see Nilsson, *Gr. F.*, pp. 103, 158–9; Weniger, *Ueber das Collegium der Thyiaden von Delphi*, Eisenach, 1876, p. 1; Mommsen, *Delphika*, pp. 280 f. I do not think that Mommsen is right in connecting this festival with the return from Tempe which formed part of the ennaeteric festival (p. 70 below).

This brings us to the difficult question of when the oracle was active. Both Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 193, who cites the analogy of the oracle at Korope, which only gave responses upon one day in the year when the god was present, and Rohde (*Psyche*, ii, p. 61, n. 1) hold that when Apollo was absent, i. e. during the three winter months, no oracles were delivered. Farnell, on the other hand, maintains (*C. G. S.*, iv, p. 186) that the *apodemiai* and *epidemiai* had nothing to do with the oracle.

Although αἱ κατὰ μῆνα μαντεῖαι need not necessarily mean that the oracle could be consulted only upon one day in each month, that is the natural meaning both of this passage and of *de Pyth. orac.*, 8. That in the days when the Delphic oracle was at the height of its popularity, its activities were restricted to one day a month is incredible, and, as regards public consultations, the second oracle to Athens during the Persian War (Herodotus, vii, 141) shows that it is untrue.

Upon the whole Stengel's interpretation of the evidence (*Kultusalt.*, p. 65) seems reasonable. Originally the oracle gave responses only upon one day, like the oracle at Korope, i. e. on *Busios* 7th. For this tradition some support may be gleaned from legend. Battos (Pindar, *Pyth.*, iv, 4) seems to have consulted Apollo on that day, which would also fit in with the story of Orestes who was back in Athens for the feast of *Choes* on *Anthesterion* 12th.

Later, when Delphi became important and two regular priestesses and a third understudy for emergencies were regularly employed (Plutarch, *de def. orac.*, 8, 414 B), consultations might take place

upon any day. There were always, of course, 'unlucky days' upon which the god could not be consulted (Plutarch, *Alex.*, 14), but these are irrelevant to our issue. Whether there were any restrictions upon private as opposed to public inquiries there is no evidence, but *Busios* 7th was a popular festival and perhaps a favourite day for private persons to consult the god.

καὶ γὰρ ὡς ἐγὼ κλύω
χρηστηρίον πέπτωκε τοῖς ἐπήλυσι
κοινὸν πρὸ ναοῦ· βούλομαι δ' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ
τῇδ', αἰσία γάρ, θεῶν λαβεῖν μαντεύματα.

Euripides, *Ion*, 418.

By Plutarch's day the oracle had long declined in importance. One Pythia sufficed for the needs of inquirers whose questions were for the most part concerned with the most trivial private affairs. Oracles were then given but once a month.

But there is still the question whether Plutarch has simply assumed a common knowledge that Apollo was absent in the winter and by once a month meant nine times a year only. At first sight Pindar, *Pyth.*, iv, 4, might seem to support the view that the oracle was inactive while the god was away. On the other hand, the Scholia on Pindar (*loc. cit.*) and those on Kallimachos, *Hymn Ap.*, 1 (p. 111, Schneider), rather suggest that oracles were delivered during the winter months, but that many people believed that responses then obtained were unreliable. λέγεται δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν μαντευομένων τὰ θεῖα καὶ ἐπιδημεῖν καὶ ἀποδημεῖν, καὶ ὅταν μὲν ἐπιδημῶσι τὰς μαντείας ἀληθεῖς εἶναι, ὅταν δὲ ἀποδημῶσι ψευδεῖς.

The seventh day of *Busios* was called *Polupthoös*, according to popular etymology, which Plutarch perhaps wrongly rejects, because the baking of the kind of cake called *phthoïs* was a prominent feature of the festival, which may well have been the oldest in the Delphic cult of Apollo (Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 159). The *phthoïs* was a cake made of cheese, honey, and the finest wheat flour, directions for making which are given by Athenaeus, xiv, 57, 647 D. In shape it was circular with a knob in the middle, whence the name *phthoïs* was applied to a wide-shaped cup with a boss (Athenaeus, xi, 106, 502 A). It was common in sacrificial usage, part being burned or laid on the altar and part eaten with the *splanchna* (Suidas s. v. φθοΐς, Eustathius, *Il.*, 1165, 9; Dittenberger, *Syll.*, 1025, 33; Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 676; see further Stengel, *Gr. Kultusalt.*, p. 113).

E. Höfler (*A. R. W.*, xv, pp. 638–41) following Lobeck *Aglaophamus*, p. 1076), identifies these cakes with *placentia bacchica*, and compares them with *Krapfen* which are eaten at Carnival in Austria. The shape of all these, he thinks, was originally intended to be that of the heart, and they were eaten in the first place as magical medicine.

Question 10

Q. *What is the sheep-escaper?*

A. *It belongs to the small and low-growing plants, the shoots of which the grazing animals attack, cutting off the tops and injuring them and so spoiling the growth. And so when they run up and grow large and escape being injured by the pasturing animals, they are called sheep-escapers. The evidence for this is Aeschylus.*

The fragment of Aeschylus (447 Sidgwick, 377 Dindorf) is not otherwise attested. The sole other testimony to the word is the gloss of Hesychius, which may, in fact, be derived from Plutarch. φυξίμηλα· δένδρα τὰ διὰ ὕψος ἐκπεφευγότα ἐσθίεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν βοσκημάτων.

Question 11

Q. *Who are 'the men who were driven off with slings'?*

A. *The Eretrians colonized the island Corcyra. But Charikrates sailing from Corinth in force and getting the mastery in war, the Eretrians embarked in their ships and sailed away home. But the citizens having prior news of it kept them off the land and prevented them from landing by slinging. So not being able either to persuade them or to compel them, for they were many and intransigent, they sailed to Thrace and seized a place which they say that Methon, the forbear of Orpheus, formerly inhabited, and they called the city Methone, but they were called by their neighbours "the men who were driven off with slings".*

The suggestion that the source of this Question is an authentic record of early colonization which was preserved at Delphi (Cary in *C. R.*, xl, pp. 148–9) is improbable. The existence of such a record is purely hypothetical, and had it existed, it is strange indeed that no ancient author used it. Like the other *Greek Questions* this is probably drawn from a literary source which may well be, as Giessen suggests (*op. cit.*, pp. 468–9), either the *Constitution of the Corcyreans* (the existence of which is attested by Rose, *Frags.* 469–70) or the *Constitution of the Methonaeans* (existence attested by Rose, *Frags.* 510–11). Of the two the latter is the more likely source for a nickname applied to the Methonaeans by their neighbours.

If this guess is correct, the authority of the passage as establishing the existence of an early Eretrian colony upon Corcyra is not considerable. The supposed Eretrian colonization of Corcyra, though questioned by some scholars,[1] has been accepted by good

[1] Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*[2], i, p. 247.

authorities.[1] I am personally among the sceptics.[2] It may be admitted that all traditions about the early history of Corcyra have suffered manipulation; in particular they have been affected by the identification of the island with the Homeric Phaeacia and by the western version of the wanderings of the Argonauts. But the ancient and unrivalled claim of Corinth to have colonized Corcyra is not questioned in ancient literature except in this unique passage of dubious authority. The current Greek view represented the Corinthian occupation as having been contemporaneous with the founding of Syracuse. It is hardly credible that it was not earlier, and here probably tradition has been falsified to secure a dramatic synchronism. Chersikrates, as his name appears elsewhere, a member of the ruling family of Bacchiads,[3] set sail from Corinth with Archias. While the latter proceeded to Sicily and founded Syracuse, the former was left *en route* at Corcyra, where he drove out the Liburnians (Ephoros in Strabo, vi, 2, 4, 269) or the Kolchians (Timaeus, *Frag.* 53; *F. H. G.*, Müller, i, p. 203 from Schol. Ap. Rhod., iv, 1212, 1216). The Kolchians are derived from the Argonaut *saga*, but the version of Ephoros, whose Liburnians represent the aborigines of the Illyrian coast and islands, may well be substantially correct except in point of date.

With our story of returning colonists who are not wanted back in their mother city may, perhaps, be compared the oath which was alleged to have been sworn by the Theraeans and those who sailed for Cyrene with Battos. Here, if the colony fails, they are to be allowed to return and to enjoy all the privileges of citizenship, but not otherwise (Ferri, *Alcune iscrizioni di Cirene*, Abh. Preuss. Akad. Wiss., 1925, v, pp. 19 f., ap. Nock, *A. R. W.*, 1927, p. 172).

Of the three prongs of Chalkidike Pallene was mainly occupied by Eretrian foundations and Athos by those of Eretria and Andros, which was itself Eretrian (Strabo, x, 447, and Question 30 below). Methone lay on the western side of the gulf opposite to Chalkidike: its foundation by the Eretrians is not disputed (Eustathius, *Il.*, p. 328).

As regards Methon, the eponymous hero of the settlement, Wyttenbach proposed to change *πρόγονον* to *ἀπόγονον* in order to make him a descendant instead of a forbear of Orpheus. The change, however, is unnecessary (see Maass, *Orpheus*, p. 154). In one genealogy a similar female eponym, the nymph Methone,

[1] Meyer, *Gesch. des Altertums*, ii, p. 470; Wilamowitz, *Hom. Untersuchungen*, p. 171; Wade Gery, *C. A. H.*, iii, p. 535; Myres, *ibid.*, p. 651; Cary, *ibid.*, p. 618, and *C. R.*, xl, pp. 148–9

[2] *C. R.*, xl, pp. 63–4.

[3] In Strabo Chersikrates is described as being of the race of Heraclids, but this amounts to the same thing, for the Bacchiads had established claims to descent from Aletes the Heraclid.

is the mother of Oiagros and therefore grandmother of Orpheus. Her husband and grandfather of Orpheus was Pieros, the eponym of Pieria. Methone is also one of the daughters of the local giant Alkyoneus, who cast themselves from Pallene into the sea and were turned into halcyons. The male Methon has been identified with a figure upon a relief of *circa* 424 B.C. It adorns an inscription recording honours decreed by the Athenians to the people of Methone, and represents Athena giving her hand to a male figure who is dressed as a native hunter (P. Gardner, *J. H. S.*, ix, 1888, p. 53).

The name Methon, as Professor Rose suggests to me, may be connected with the same root as *μέθυ*, which is common to both *centum* and *satem* varieties of Indo-European speech (see Clemen, *Religionsgeschichte Europas*, i, p. 160), and mean 'Wine Man' *uel sim.*

Question 12

Q. *Who is Charila among the Delphians?*

A. *The Delphians celebrate three ennaeteric festivals in order, the names of which are Septerion, Herois, and Charila.*

Now Septerion seems to be an imitation of the god's fight against Python and the flight and pursuit to Tempe after the battle. For some indeed say that Apollo fled as a consequence of the slaying,[1] *desiring purifications, but others that he followed up Python, who was wounded and fled along what we now call the Sacred Way, and by a little missed his end. For he found him just dead from the wound and having received funeral rites from his son, whose name was Aix, as they say. Septerion, then, is the imitation of these events or something of the kind.*

The explanation of the Herois is mainly a secret story, which the Thyiads know; but from the ritual one might clearly guess it to be a bringing up of Semele.

About the Charila they tell some such story as this. Famine after a drought seized the Delphians and they came with children and wives to the doors of the king and made supplication. And he gave shares of barley and pulse to the notables; for there was not sufficient for all. And when an orphan girl who was still of tender years came and importuned him, he struck her with his shoe and hurled the shoe in her face. Now she, being destitute and forlorn but not ignoble in character, went straight away

[1] The double sense of *φυγεῖν* cannot be rendered in English. *φυγεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ* is modelled on *φυγεῖν ἐφ' αἵματι*, for which see p. 81 below.

and untied her girdle and hanged herself. When, therefore, the famine increased and illnesses were added to it, the Pythia gave response to the king that he must appease Charila, the maiden who had killed herself. As soon, therefore, as they discovered that this was the name of the girl who had been beaten, they performed a sacrifice mingled with purification, which they still perform every nine years.

For the king sits in state and gives of barley-meal and pulse to all, both strangers and citizens, and a doll representing Charila is brought. When, therefore, all have received their shares, the king slaps the doll with his shoe, whereupon the president of the Thyiads takes it up, carries it to a certain place which is full of ravines and there, after fastening a cord round the neck of the doll, they bury it where they buried the body of Charila after she was hanged.

Parts of this may be from Plutarch's personal knowledge of Delphic ritual and story. The problems were perhaps suggested to him by a study of the theologians whom Kleombrotos in *de defectu oraculorum* strongly criticises. It is at least possible that the Euhemeristic version of the story of Python and its connexion with *Septerion* may have come from Anaxandridas, who has contributed to Question 9.

The involved questions connected with the periods or cycles which were employed in the time-reckoning of early Greek legend and religious practice have been discussed by Roscher, "Die enneadischen und hebdomadischen Fristen und Wochen der ältesten Griechen", *Abhandl. der K. Sächs. Gesell. der Wiss.*, xxi, 1903; "Die Hebdomadenlehren der griechischen Philosophen und Ärzte", *ibid.*, xxiv, 1906; and "Enneadische Studien", *ibid.*, xxvii, 1909. A survey of the comparative evidence is carried out in Nilsson, *Primitive Time-Reckoning*; see also Nilsson, *Die Entstehung und Bedeutung des Griechischen Kalenders.*

In Greek usage *ennaeteris* means a festival, which recurs in every eighth year, just as *trieteris* means one which recurs every other year. In consequence we are not here concerned with the apparently very ancient nine cycle (see Roscher, *op. cit.*, xxi, 1903, pp. 16 f.). If the *trieteris*, which, as Farnell suggests, may be connected with the practice of leaving land fallow in alternate years, is connected with Dionysos, the *ennaeteris* is no less certainly connected with Apollo. Nor can there be much doubt that it arises from the practice of adjusting the solar with the lunar years by intercalation worked upon the basis of an eight-year period. From this association of the number seven (see p. 60 above) and the octennial intercalation period with Apollo,

Nilsson has been led to the view that Apollo was a foreign deity who entered Greece relatively late from the East. While this view has not, I think, won general acceptance and, for my own part, other difficulties which its endorsement involves, incline me to be sceptical of its truth, Nilsson's argument has not yet been adequately met upon its own ground.

The connexion of Apollo with the seventh day is certainly as old as Hesiod (see above, p. 61), but how old the more crucial octennial intercalation period may be we have no means of deciding. That the *pentaeteris* resulted from dividing an older *ennaeteris* rather than that the *ennaeteris* was arrived at by doubling a pre-existent *pentaeteris* is indicated by the fact that the Pythian games were originally ennaeteric and were first made pentaeteric in 582/3 (see A. Mommsen, *Delphika*, pp. 153-4). But this does not give us a definite date earlier than the end of the sixth century, The appearance of the eight-year cycle in Orphic (?) theories of resurrection (Pindar *ap.* Plato, *Meno*, 81 B) is no doubt secondary, and is more likely to be derived from religious calendrical usage than from a more ancient and primitive folk-lore. The *Daphnephoria* at Thebes was *ennaeteric* in historical times. This was in fact a May-pole ceremony which by all analogy should be annual. At some unknown date, when it became incorporated into state ritual, Apolline influence, abetted by a mistaken analogy, which modern scholars too have drawn, with the *Return from Tempe* which followed *Septerion*, it became ennaeteric (see Halliday, *Folklore Studies*, pp. 122 f.). The character of the ritual of *Charila*, again, would lead one to suppose that it originally had been an annual festival. We cannot, in fact, be certain of the antiquity of the observance of ennaeteric festivals in Greece earlier than 582 B. C.

The name *Septerion* or *Stepterion* is discussed by Pfister in *P. W.*, second series, ii, pp. 1553 f.; Mommsen, *Delphika*, p. 210, n. 1; Nilsson, *G. F.*, pp. 150 f. Though the form *Stepterion* is usually preferred to the MSS. *Septerion*, which Wyttenbach prints, the sole reason for its existence, a fact Miss Harrison has missed (*Prolegomena*, p. 113), is the hypothesis that the festival took its name from the crowning of the boy in Tempe and that *Stepterion* is derived from στέφω. But it is not clear why the Delphian festival should be given its name from what happened in the second part of the ritual in Tempe. The grounds, therefore, for altering the reading of the MSS. appear to be inadequate, and the form *Septerion* derives some support from the Hesychian gloss σεπτηρία· καθαρμός, ἔκθυσις. The most probable derivation may be thought to be that from σέβεσθαι (Pfister, *loc. cit.*). Very improbable, for obvious reasons, is the suggested derivation σεπτάς = ἑπτάς. It rests upon a hypothesis, for which there is no evidence, that the festival began on the seventh of the month. Even were this guess correct, it is not clear why this rather than,

for instance, the festival of 7th *Busios* should be called Feast of the Seventh Day.

For a discussion of the ritual to the works already cited add Weniger, *Thyiaden*; Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. iii, pp. 53–7; Farnell, *C. G. S.*, iv, pp. 293–5.

The festival took place shortly before the Pythian Games (Plutarch, *de def. orac.*, 2, 410), and if the laurel brought from Tempe was really used in the appropriate years for the victor's crown (Arg. Pind., *Pyth.*, 3), the interval must have been sufficient for the ceremonies at Tempe and the return of the *theoria* before the Games began. From these data, there are no other available, scholars have drawn different conclusions, and the beginning of *Septerion* has been placed in *Bukatios* (Mommsen), *Apellaios* (Weniger), *Ilaios* (Usener, *A. R. W.*, vii, p. 325). Pfister (*op cit.*) places the commencement in *Apellaios* and the return from Tempe in *Bukatios*. Where there is no evidence, any reasonable guess may be right. I am inclined to doubt whether the ceremonies in Tempe probably took as long as Pfister supposes.

Here and elsewhere Plutarch expresses what was evidently the official view, that the rites were essentially a *mimesis* of the story of Apollo and Python. The main difficulty arises from the fact that in our fragmentary record of what was actually done, there is nothing which would naturally lend itself to this view, which I personally believe to be a desperate venture of theological speculation. In *de def. orac.*, 15, 418, Kleombrotos describes how a booth was erected upon the threshing-floor which was not at all like a dragon's lair but rather a model of a royal palace (*οὐ φωλεώδης τοῦ δράκοντος χειά, ἀλλὰ μίμημα τυραννικῆς ἢ βασιλικῆς ἐστιν οἰκήσεως*). A silent attack was made upon this house by a youth, both of whose parents must be alive, who was escorted by certain persons with lighted torches. The boy, whose official title was *ἱερὸς παῖς τοῦ Πυθίου*,[1] no doubt impersonated the god: his companions had some special name, but unfortunately at this point the text becomes irretrievably unintelligible (see p. 168 below). Neither Thyiades, Aioleiai, nor Oleiai seem to me at all probable reconstructions, for from the gender of the participles they must be male and not female. The booth was set on fire and the table overturned. The attackers then fled without looking back through the doors of the temple, and there followed wanderings and servitude (*λατρεία*) of the boy, who eventually underwent purification at Tempe. Aelian (*Var. Hist.*, 3, 1) mentions an ennaeteric *theoria* to Tempe of noble youths accompanying a special envoy (*παῖδας εὐγενεῖς πέμπουσι καὶ ἀρχιθέωρον ἕνα σφῶν αὐτῶν*). At Tempe there were solemn sacrifices, from which they returned crowned with branches of the laurel tree

[1] See Homolle, *B. C. H.*, xx, 1896, p. 719. This particular example subsequently became *πρέσβυς τῶν Ὁσίων*.

from which the god had been crowned when he was purified. On the way back a banquet was held at a Thessalian village called Deipnias near Larissa, where Apollo first broke his fast on his return after purification (Steph. Byz. Δειπνίας). The boy who bore back the laurel to Delphi was accompanied by the music of flutes (Plutarch, *de mus.*, 1136 A). This summarizes all the available information as to the facts.

Now it is quite clear that οἱ Δελφῶν θεολόγοι, of whom Kleombrotos thought poorly, explained the rites of *Septerion* and the return from Tempe in terms of the story of Apollo and Python. The λατρεία of the boy is an allusion to the late version of the story which made Apollo's servitude to Admetos consequent upon the slaughter of Python (Anaxandridas in Schol. Eur. *Alc.*, 1; see Tresp, *F. G. K.*, p. 116). But as against the theological theory it is remarkable that there is no indication that anything remotely resembling a fight between Apollo and a snake or Apollo and Python actually took place. In fact it almost certainly did not, for if the omission was merely due to the scrappy character of our record, i. e. that something of the sort took place but has been accidentally omitted, I do not think that Plutarch would have been so cautious in his phraseology (τούτων ἢ τοιούτων τινῶν ἀπομιμησίς ἐστιν ἑτέρων) nor would Kleombrotos have stressed the point that the booth did not resemble a dragon's lair.

In Mommsen's view the festival was a creation of the fourth century, when an Euhemeristic version ousted the dragon fight of Apollo and the Snake. This does not seem at all probable, nor in fact is there any evidence that there was a fight between the boy and a man Python. The shooting with bow and arrow into the burning hut is purely an embellishment of Mommsen's imagination. The ἔφοδος is not upon any enemy but upon the booth. But the ritual of burning the booth has a very ancient appearance, if this was in fact the essence of the rite, nor, if Mommsen's view were accepted, is it easy to see how this particular form of a combat with Python arose out of an earlier fight with a snake. The plain fact is that, as far as the evidence goes, there is no reason to believe that any mimic fight either with a snake or with a man formed part of what was actually performed.

Here the story of Python (for which consult as additional references Roscher, *Lex.*, iii, s.vv. Pythios, Python) demands comment. The fight between Apollo and the snake does not appear in Homer or Hesiod but first in *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, 282 f. Here the snake is a public pest, which is slain by the god; it is of female sex; it has no connexion with Gaia; nor is it in any sense the guardian of the oracle, which Apollo is said to have founded *after* his victory. By the fifth century B. C. the version of the early history of Delphi which regarded Ge and Themis as having been oracular predecessors of Apollo, had become estab-

lished (Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, 1 f., the implication of Schol. Aesch., *Eum.* 3 = Pindar, *Frag.* 55 would carry this back as far as Pindar). The first evidence for a male snake named Python, who is warder of the oracle, is contained in Euripides, *I. T.*, 1245 f., and this is the passage upon which the current modern theories rest. Actually, the alleged oracle of Earth, the name Python and the male snake are not attested before the fifth century, and they are inconsistent with the account in the *Homeric Hymn*. It is not at all improbable that they belong to theological reconstruction and not to ancient tradition at all.

That Python and Pythios are derived from the place-name Pytho,[1] which is as old as the Homeric poems, is almost certain. With Python from Pytho compare the alternative name of the snake Delphyne from Delphi (Ap. Rhod., ii, 706, and Schol.), which has the merit of preserving the correct sex of the monster. The rationalistic version is earliest attested by Ephoros (Strabo, ix, 3, 11, 422; Pausanias, x, 6, 5). A wicked robber Python, son of Krios, was nicknamed Dragon, of whose iniquities the Delphians were relieved by Apollo's action. To the rationalist version belongs Aix, son of Python, with whose name we may compare that of his grandfather Krios. Aix is not recorded except in this passage. Elaborations of the rationalistic version, e. g. the story that Python had persecuted Leto before the birth of Apollo (Hygin., *Fab.*, 140), need not detain us.

My own view is that the ritual of *Septerion* is old, but that it had no connexion at all with the story of Apollo and the snake, until about the fourth century, when the rationalistic version was applied for the purposes of explanation. The ritual consisted in the burning of the booth, a flight, a purification in Tempe, and a ceremonial joyous return with the laurel crown. This Farnell (*C. G. S.*, iv, pp. 293–5) regards as kathartic. He compares the booth with the cabin of Orestes at Troizen (Paus., ii, 31, 8), though I am inclined to think that the Troizenian business is analogous rather to the procedure at *Choes* in Athens, or *Thiasoi* in Aigina (see below, p. 184) than to *Septerion*. After burning the hut the representative of the god flees bearing with him the guilt and troubles of the community, and after the ceremonies at Tempe he returns purified and bringing good luck. Nilsson (*op. cit.*), with whom I am inclined to agree, stresses the burning of the hut, which he would bring into relation with the Midsummer Fires of European folk-lore. The initial impulse to connect the story of Apollo and Python with our ritual may perhaps have come from supposing that the purificatory rites at Tempe were to be explained by Apollo's blood guilt after killing Python. That Tempe was the place where this occurred represents only one version; a very

[1] Its meaning is more questionable than its antiquity. Perhaps Mommsen's analogy of 'Faulhorn', the name of a peak in the Tyrol, is the most satisfactory line of explanation.

prevalent alternative took Apollo to Crete (Paus., ii, 7, 7, ii, 30, 3, x, 6, 5). In fact the location in Tempe may be suspected of originating in the application of the story to these particular ceremonies. Once that view was taken, the earlier part of the proceedings must necessarily have some connexion with the story. The somewhat halting adjustment is provided by the rationalist version that the hut represented the palace of the wicked king Python. *ἐμπρησθῆναι δὲ καὶ σκηνὴν τότε τοῦ Πύθωνος ὑπὸ τῶν Δελφῶν, καθάπερ καὶ νῦν ἔτι καὶ ἀεὶ ὑπομνήμα ποιουμένους τῶν τότε γενομένων*, Strabo, ix, 3, 12, 422.

What occurred at the place on the Sacred Way, which was connected with the decease of Python and the mourning of Aix, we have no means of knowing. Alternative rationalistic accounts placed the death and grave of Python in Delphi itself; in one late version he was buried under the Omphalos (references in Pfister, *Reliquienkult*, i, p. 287).

About *Herois* this passage is our sole source of information. Speculations as to the time of the festival have naturally varied. All are equally guesses in the dark. Thus Weniger (*Thyiaden*, p. 18) believes that it took place during the interval between the Flight and the Return, while the purificatory ceremonies were going on at Tempe; Pfister (*P. W.*, *loc. cit.*), on the other hand, places it in winter. Again, as regards its character some (Voigt in Roscher, *Lex*, i, p. 1048) have maintained that it was a general feast in honour of the dead. For this there is no evidence. Mommsen's attempt (*Delphika*, pp. 226 f.) to identify it with the festival alluded to by Schol. Pind., *Nem.*, vii, 68 (*γίνεται ἐν Δελφοῖς ἥρωσι ξένια, ἐν οἷς δοκεῖ ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ ξένια καλεῖν τοὺς ἥρωας*) it is charitable to call improbable. Höfer (Roscher, *Lex.*, iv, p. 664) considers that Herois applies to Semele as 'hero' to Dionysos in the Elean hymn; but at best 'hero Dionysos' is unique and inexplicable as a cult invocation, and quite probably it arises from some textual corruption (see p. 167 below). No doubt *Herois* is in a general way not inappropriate for a mystic ceremony of calling up the Earth Goddess or the Goddess of Fertility from the Underworld. An *ἀναγωγή* of Semele was celebrated elsewhere at Lerna, Troizen, Samos, and probably at Athens (references in Keune, *P. W.*, second series, ii, p. 1343). For discussion of the *Anodos* of Kore or of Semele see Mommsen, *Delphika*, pp. 233 f.; Nilsson, *G. F.*, pp. 286 f.; Harrison, *Prolegomena*, pp. 276 f.; Farnell, *C. G. S.*, v, pp. 192 f.

Plutarch's pious reticence prevents our knowing what was actually done in this mystic ritual. We may perhaps guess that a sacred play was enacted in which Dionysos descended to the Lower World and brought Semele back, for it is the god himself who brought his mother out of Hades (Apollodorus, iii, 54; Diodorus, iv, 25; Pausanias, ii, 31, 2, ii, 37, 5; Plutarch, *de ser. num. uind.*, 22, 566 A).

It is surely a little peculiar that this ceremony should have been ennaeteric. We should naturally expect the return of Semele, like the return of Kore, to be annually celebrated, as in fact it was at the Alkyonian Lake near Lerna (Pausanias, ii, 37, 5). I am inclined to suppose that the Delphic festival was originally celebrated once a year and was subsequently made ennaeteric under priestly influence.

The Thyiads of Delphi formed a sacred college analogous to the Sixteen in Elis (see Question 36, p. 156 below), or the Eleven Dionysiades in Sparta (Paus., iii, 13, 8). A similar Athenian college existed, which joined in the trieteric nocturnal orgies on Mount Parnassos in the winter month of *Dadophorios*. The name is no doubt derived from the wild rushing dance of the Maenads; compare the invocation to Dionysos τῷ βοέῳ ποδὶ θύων in Question 36. They performed another mystic rite called the wakening of Liknites (see above, p. 58). They appear to have been of mature years, γυναῖκες not παρθένοι. Klea, the president of the college, was a close personal friend of Plutarch's, and to her he addressed his tract *Upon Isis and Osiris*. For further information see Weniger, *Thyiaden*, and Schmidt in Roscher, *Lex.*, v, pp. 915–922.

Charila, for which again this is the sole source of information, is discussed by Nilsson, *G.F.*, p. 467; Farnell, *H.C.*, pp. 31–4; and A. B. Cook, *Folk-Lore*, xxvii, pp. 79 f. It belongs to a well-known general type of seasonal festival (see Mannhardt, *Antike Feld- und Waldkulte*, pp. 298 f.) in which a puppet is hanged upon a tree, and Charila has Greek counterparts in Helen Dendritis and Erigone (Farnell, *C. G. S.*, ii, p. 428, iv, pp. 280–1). There appears to be a double and logically inconsistent motive in the ritual, a phenomenon which is to be observed also in the beating of the *pharmakoi* in the somewhat analogous *Thargelia*. Like the *pharmakoi* Charila appears to be at once a scape-goat and also a magical maker of fertility. That the death and burial of a doll is a substitute for an earlier human sacrifice is not certain, but is very probable.

The attempt of Calderon (*C.R.*, xxvii, pp. 79–81) to use *Charila* as evidence of a Slavonic racial element in the Greeks, in itself a bold hypothesis, is not convincing. Examples of analogous peasant ritual are not confined to the Southern Slavs. Further, the etymological equation of Charila with Slavonic *Yarílo* from *yaro* = spring, even if it were sound, is less helpful than Calderon supposed, unless the general opinion that *Charila* took place not in spring but in late summer is shown to be mistaken.

The periodicity of *Charila*, however, is remarkable. Once more one would have suspected the festival to have arisen from an annual peasant rite of fertility magic. Originally I suspect that it in fact took place every year. Usener's view (*Rh. Mus.*, xxx, pp. 203 f. = *Kleine Schriften*, iv, pp. 116 f.) that it originally repre-

sented the ceremonial conclusion of an eight-year cycle, the breaking with the old order before the happy inauguration of a new period, does not seem to me probable. By all analogy *Charila* represents a ritual much older than a calendrical system for the adjustment of the solar and lunar years.

The action clearly follows the ritual. The supplication at the doors of the royal palace will recall the similar scene which opens the drama of *Oedipus Tyrannus*. For the survival of the βασιλεύς as a religious official in historical times see p. 45 above.

Question 13.

Q. *What is the beggar's meat among the Ainianes?*

A. *Many have been the migrations of the Ainianes. For first of all they dwelt about the Dotian Plain and were driven out by the Lapiths to Aithika. Thence they took and held the country about the Araoua in Molossia, whence they were called Paraouai. After this they held Kirrha. In Kirrha they stoned Oinoklos the king at the bidding of the god;*[1] *they then went down into the country about the Inachos, which was inhabited by Inachians and Achaeans. Now an oracle had been given to the Inachians that if they shared their land with others they would throw away the whole and to the Ainianes that if they received it as a willing gift they would possess it. Thereupon Temon, a man of position among the Ainianes, put on rags and wallet like a beggar, and came to the Inachians. And when their king gave him a clod of earth as a mocking insult, he took it, put it into his wallet and disappeared well pleased with the gift; for he immediately went off without begging for anything more. Then the amazed elders remembered the oracle, and they came to the king and urged him not to think lightly of it nor let the man go. But Temon perceived their intention and hastened his flight, and he escaped after praying to Apollo with a vow to sacrifice a hecatomb.*

And after that the kings fought a duel and Phemios, the king of the Ainianes, seeing that Hyperochos, the king of the Inachians, was coming at him with his dog, said that he did unfairly to bring a second to the fight. But when Hyperochos turned round to drive off the dog, Phemios cast at him with a stone and killed him.

The Ainianes then got the land, driving out both the Inachians and the Achaeans. But thereafter they reverenced that stone as holy and they sacrifice to it and cover it with the fat of the sacrificial victim. And whenever they

[1] i. e. the oracle of Apollo at Delphi, compare *Q. G.*, 16, below.

pay the hecatomb to Apollo they sacrifice an ox to Zeus, and a portion they set aside and award to the descendants of Temon, calling it 'the beggar's meat'.

The source of this question is clearly the same as that of Question 26. There is no indication of what it is. It seems to me not impossible that the history of the Ainianes and their wanderings may have formed part of the *Constitution of the Malians*, for the existence of which see Rose, *Frags.* 512, 513.

The Ainianes are a true North Greek people akin to the Myrmidons and Achaeans. Their original home, according to Plutarch, was in the Dotian Plain, i. e. in the eastern part of Pelasgiotis near Lake Boebeis (Strabo, ix, 442 ; Bursian, *Geog.*, i, p. 63). In the Homeric *Catalogue* they fight with the Perrhaebians under the leadership of Gouneus, and are said to live round Dodona and on the banks of the Titaresios, which flows into the Peneios (*Iliad*, ii, 748). Whether or not there were two Dodonas, one in Thessaly and one in Epirus, has been a matter of dispute with Homeric scholars, both ancient and modern (see Kern in *P. W.* s.v. Dodona 2, vol. v, p. 1264, and P. R., i, p. 122, note 3). I have myself little doubt that if the Titaresios is rightly identified with the Europos, the most considerable northern tributary of the Peneios (Bursian, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 23, 42, 58), the author of the *Catalogue* placed the Ainianes a little to the west of the Dotian Plain. This seems to be confirmed by the itinerary of Apollo in *Hom. Hymn Ap. Pyth.*, 38 (216),

> Πιερίην μὲν πρῶτον ἀπ' Οὐλύμποιο κατῆλθες·
> Λάκμον τ' Ἠμαθίην τε παρέστιχες ἠδ' Ἐνιῆνας
> καὶ διὰ Περραιβούς· τάχα δ' εἰς Ἰαωλκὸν ἵκανες.

If the existence of the Thessalian Dodona be denied, one can only suppose that the western migration of part of this people had taken place before the lines of the *Catalogue* were written.

In historical times the home of the Ainianes lay upon the upper waters of the Spercheios. Probably about 600 B.C. they were overrun by the Thessalians ; they formed one of the units in the Amphictyonic League but their vote was in practice at the disposal of Thessaly (*C. A. H.*, iii, pp. 603, 604, 612). In the fifth century B.C. they figure among the tribes who frustrated the foundation of the Spartan fortress of Herakleia (Thucydides, v, 51). The Inachos, which Plutarch mentions, has been identified with the modern Vidritza, a considerable southern tributary which flows into the Spercheios about two hours' journey west of Hypata (Bursian, i, p. 90).

Of the intervening migrations there are two accounts. According to Strabo (ix, 5, 22, 442) the Ainianes and Perrhaebians of the Dotian Plain were pushed out by the Lapiths in two directions. The majority of them passed south over Oeta to their historical

home; others were pushed west over Pindus into Athamania. These latter became submerged in the native population, and in historical times had practically disappeared. Plutarch's story represents another tradition, according to which the whole people was pushed westwards and only reached their historical home by an almost circular series of migrations.

That some at least were driven westwards from their original home is consistent with both accounts. The description of their ejection from Thessaly, which is given by Plutarch, agrees with that assigned to the Pheres in the Homeric *Catalogue* (*Iliad*, ii, 744), τοὺς δ' ἐκ Πηλίου ὦσεν (Peirithoos the Lapith) καὶ Αἰθίκεσσι πέλασσεν.

The Pheres were usually identified with the Centaurs, whose route is the same (Strabo, ix, 5, 1, 434), and hence perhaps the gloss of Hesychius Κένταυροι . . . καὶ οἱ Αἰνιᾶνες.

For Aithikia on Pindus see Strabo, ix, 5, 1, 430, vii, 7, 9, 327; Steph. Byz. s.v. Αἰθικία. From Pindus, according to Plutarch, they went westward into Molossia and were called Paraouai. In the fifth century B.C. the Parauaioi or Paroraioi were a tribal people, whose contingents served under their own king among the allies of Knemos and the Ambrakiots (Thucydides, ii, 80). They were neighbours of Ambrakia on the north-west (Strabo, vii, 7, 7, 326). In Question 26 (below, p. 129) Kassope, i. e. the area west of Ambrakia (Bursian, *op. cit.*, i, p. 26), is said to have been the temporary western home of the Ainianes.

Strabo's account of the ejection of the Ainianes from Thessaly is intrinsically the more probable, but perhaps the truth may lie in a combination of the two accounts. Strabo is probably right in supposing that two groups moved in two separate directions, Plutarch in thinking that the western Ainianes did not become submerged in the local population but underwent a further series of migrations. It will be noticed that the lines of migration suggested from the Ambrakian Gulf down to Kirrha and thence up to the Spercheios are geographically intelligible, and there is nothing impossible in the two branches of the Ainianes thus eventually reuniting in their historical home. Two considerations may support the hypothesis by suggesting the existence of some real connexion between the Ainianes of the historical period and the Ambrakian region. The first is the bringing of the ox to Kassope in Question 26, a definite practice which must have some historical roots, and the second is the special interest of the Ainianes in Neoptolemos, the hero *par excellence* of the Epirus region, which Farnell has noted (*H. C.*, p. 315 f.) as a curious and unexplained phenomenon.

For the wanderings of the Ainianes see further Robert, *Held.*, i, p. 6; Allen, *Homeric Catalogue*, pp. 130 f.; Allen, *Homer*, p. 346; and *P. W.*, s.v. Aenianes.

Oinoklos in Question 26 is said to have been the king under

whose leadership the Ainianes migrated to Kirrha. He was stoned in accordance with an oracle in order to remedy famine. Examples of the practice of putting the king to death in order to secure plenty are common in the Lower Culture (see Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, *passim*) and traces of similar practices are to be found, though not as frequently as Dr. Cook and Sir James Frazer are inclined to claim, in Greek legend. It would appear that in post-Homeric times human sacrifice was a fairly usual prescription of the god at Delphi upon occasions of drought or death (*C. A. H.*, ii, p. 620).

The tale of Temon, for which this is the sole source, turns upon a notion that property in land may be conferred by the possession of a clod of earth. Thus the story of the exiled Aletes gave rise to the proverb δέχεται καὶ βῶλον Ἀλήτης. Aletes asked a shepherd for food and was given a clod of earth in mockery: this he put into his wallet accepting it, for what it proved in fact to be, the symbol of his recovery of Corinth (Duris, *F. H. G.*, Müller, ii, p. 487; Hesychius s.v. Διὸς Κορίνθου; Plutarch, *Prov.*, i, 48, 328). Similarly the title to Cyrenaica was conferred by the gift of a clod of earth by the disguised Triton to Euphemos the Argonaut,

ἀλλ' ἥρως ἀπ' ἀκταῖσιν θορὼν
χειρί οἱ χεῖρ' ἀντερείσαις δέξατο βώλακα δαιμονίαν.

The clod was subsequently lost overboard by carelessness and was eventually washed to Thera (Pindar, *Pyth.*, iv, 36 f.). The same sort of idea underlies the story of the lot of Kresphontes and the partition of the Peloponnese (Paus., iv, 3, 5; Apollodorus, ii, 8, 4) and the symbolic "earth and water" demanded by the Persian king; in rather a different form it turns up in the pseudo-Amphilochian *Life of St. Basil*, where Julian gives the saint hay in mockery and thereby confers unwittingly rights of pasturage (*Acta Sanctorum*, xxiii, June, pp. 416 f.; Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, lxxiii, pp. 203 f., discussed in Halliday, *Folklore Studies*, p. 52). In Roman law a sod from the land the property of which was in dispute was brought into court (Gellius, *N. A.*, xx, 10; Suetonius, *Vesp.*, 5), and similar practices are known to German and Scandinavian legal custom. See Nilsson, "Die 'traditio per terram' im griechischen Rechtsbrauch", *A. R. W.*, xx, 1920, pp. 232–5, and notes on Questions 22 and 35, pp. 113, 151 below.

Of Hyperochos nothing further seems to be known. The Hyperochos, who miraculously came to the defence of Delphi against Brennus, was a Hyperborean (Paus., i, 4, 4, x, 23, 2).

Phemios has been identified with a slinger who is figured upon Ainianian coins of *circa* 168–146 B. C. (Head, *H. N.*, p. 292, fig. 171, *B. M. Cat. Thessaly*, pp. 10 f.). The identification, however, appears very uncertain. Our story does not represent Phemios as using a sling, but as fighting in the Homeric fashion with

a chance boulder (e. g. *Iliad*, vii, 263 f., xiv, 409). Such weapons are more likely to be rocks of some magnitude.

τὸν δ' οὔ κε δύ' ἀνέρε δήμου ἀρίστω
ῥηϊδίως ἐπ' ἄμαξαν ἀπ' οὔδεος ὀχλίσσειαν
οἷοι νῦν βροτοί εἰσ'. ὁ δέ μιν ῥέα πάλλε καὶ οἶος.
(*Iliad* xii, 447.)

It is very improbable that a stone which was clearly the object of cult, can have been of such a size as to be thought to have been hurled from a sling.

Besides the minstrel Phemios of the *Odyssey* there is another and different Phemios, who was the eponym of Phemiai in Arnaia, the Thessalian home of the Boiotoi (Steph. Byz. s.v. Φημίαι = *F. H. G.*, Jacoby, Hellanikos, *Frag.* 14).

The story of the duel and the unsportsmanlike trick, which clearly struck the ancient, as it would the modern Greek, as a legitimately clever ruse, is repeated in the more famous tale of the duel of the Boeotian Xanthos or Xanthios and the Athenian Melanthos, in which etymologists connected the *Apatouria* with the *apate* of Melanthos. The Attic story has been brought into relation with the origin of tragedy, and has been interpreted as an hieratic legend about the conflict between Fair Man = Spring, New Year, etc. and Black Man = Winter, Old Year, etc. (Usener in *A. R. W.*, vii, 1904, pp. 303–13 = *Kl. Schriften*, iv, pp. 439 f.; Farnell, *C. G. S.*, v, pp. 234 f.). To this interpretation there are objections, and there is no serious evidence in its support (see Halliday in *C. R.*, xl, p. 179). Both in Attica and here it seems probable that we are dealing with a purely secular traditional legend to which no esoteric meaning need be attached.

In the Ainianian version his dog follows Hyperochos into action, like the famous dog which fought with his master at Marathon and was commemorated in the picture of Polygnotos (Aelian, *N. A.*, vii, 38). But though Spartan boys sacrificed puppies to Enyalios before their fight (Plutarch, *R. Q.*, 111; Paus., iii, 14, 9), and the Carians sacrificed dogs to Ares (Clem. Alex., *Cohort. ad Gent.*, 8), the European Greeks did not employ trained war-dogs. The war-dog, however, was known in the Greek area. The Hyrkanians and the people of Magnesia on the Maeander trained dogs to fight with infantry (Pollux, v, 47), and there is the famous story of the triple duel between the champions of Perinthos and the Poeonians, man to man, horse to horse, and dog to dog (Herodotus, v, 1).

For the worship of unwrought stones in Greece see Reisch in *P. W.* s. v. ἀργοὶ λίθοι; Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. v, pp. 318 f.; de Visser, *Die nicht menschengestaltigen Götter der Griechen*, pp. 92 f. Anointing with oil or with the fat of sacrifice and decoration with fillets of wool are customary features of the ritual of such aniconic objects of worship in Greece and elsewhere.

No doubt the worship of such stones is in many cases more antique than the *aition* which explained it, and some local cults may well go back to the aniconic worship of the pre-Hellenic Bronze Age. It is not at all uncommon to find a stone connected with a hero in immediate proximity to the temple of some divinity (e. g. the stone at Troizen upon which Orestes was cleansed in proximity to the temple of Artemis Lukeia, Paus., ii, 31, 4) or closely associated both with the hero and with some major divinity (e. g. the similar stone of Orestes at Gytheion which was called Zeus Kappotas, Paus., iii, 32, 1). The frequent association of a hero-cult with the major cult of a god has given rise to a theory which Nilsson (*G. F.*, p. 167) specifically applies to the stone of Phemios. The stone, according to him, was the old god, in whose place Apollo has been substituted. Hence the god receives the major offering, which may have been instituted later, the stone only the minor offering, like the Hyperborean Maidens, who must content themselves with the ashes of sacrifice. He further sees in our stone an interesting example of a tendency to identify holy stones with Apollo and compares Apollo Agyieus.

I confess that these attractively simple and sweeping generalizations seem to me to rest upon a very insecure foundation. I find it difficult to perceive the grounds of the initial assumption that when the cults of a god and a hero exist side by side in close association, that the hero-cult necessarily preceded the cult of the god and that its secondary character, which is surely intelligible enough even if the hero is the later comer, is necessarily due to its having been ousted by a later divine cult.

The sacred stone, the *aition* of which presents the nearest analogy to our story of the duel, is perhaps the stone in Aigina mentioned by Pausanias, ii, 29, 9. "Beside the Aiakeion is the grave of Phokos, consisting of a mound of earth surrounded by a basement and surmounted by a rough stone. When Telamon and Peleus challenged Phokos to a match at the *pentathlum*, and it came to the turn of Peleus to heave the stone (for they used a stone instead of a quoit), he threw and hit Phokos purposely."

The sacrifice of a hecatomb in the strict sense of the word did not often take place. The original requirement was the sacrifice of a hundred oxen, but in actual practice, even in Homer, the hecatomb of the Pylians consists of 81 oxen (*Odyssey*, iii, 7 and 59), while the holy hecatomb of Peleus's vow involves but fifty male sheep (*Iliad*, xxiii, 146: see Eustathius, *Il.*, p. 49; *Od.*, p. 1676). In historical times hecatomb means no more than a sacrifice upon a large scale. It was remarkable that Konon after the battle of Knidos ἑκατόμβην τῷ ὄντι θύσας καὶ οὐ ψευδωνύμως πάντας Ἀθηναίους εἱστίασεν (Athenaeus, i, 5, 30). For further evidence see Stengel in *P. W.*, vii, pp. 2786–7.

Hekatombaion is a very usual Ionian month-name and derives from a festival *Hekatombaia* (see Nilsson, *G. F.*, pp. 43, 138, 174). At

Athens and Mykonos and probably elsewhere Apollo was the deity of this festival. A doubtful statement of Hesychius Ἑκατομβαῖος· ὁ Ἀπόλλων παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις· καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς ἐν Γορτύνῃ παρ' Ἀρκάσι καὶ Κρησίν provides the only instance of a god other than Apollo with the title Hekatombaios.

The month-name *Hekatombios* is attested for Halos in Phthiotis (*I. G.*, ix, 2, 109 b, 50). It is therefore probable that our ceremonies took place annually in a month corresponding to the Athenian *Hekatombaion*, i. e. June–July, just after the summer solstice.

Question 14

Q. *Who are the Koliadai among the Ithakesians and what is phagilos*?

A. *After the slaughter of the wooers, the friends of the dead men rose against Odysseus. But Neoptolemos was sent for by both parties to act as arbiter, and his award was that Odysseus, of the one part, should leave the country and be exiled as a homicide from Kephallenia and Zakynthos and Ithaka, and that the companions and relations of the suitors, of the other part, should each man pay a yearly recompense to Odysseus for the wrongs done to his house.*

Odysseus, therefore, migrated to Italy (? *Aetolia*), *but the recompense he transferred under a religious sanction to his son and ordered the men of Ithaka to pay it to him. Now it consisted of barley-meal, wine, honey in the comb, olive oil, salt, and beasts of sacrifice more mature than phagiloi. Phagilos, Aristotle tells us, means a lamb.*

But Telemachos gave their freedom and citizen rights to Eumaios and his friends, and the clan of Koliadai is descended from Eumaios and that of Boukolidai from Philoitios.

The source is Aristotle's *Constitution of the Ithakesians* (Rose, *Frag.* 464), which may be suspected of being the source also of Question 34 below. Aristotle's information here appears to be drawn from an actual ἱερὸς νόμος. I have discussed the contents of this question at greater length in *Annals*, xiv, pp. 3–12.

This story of the award of Neoptolemos is inconsistent with *Odyssey*, xxiv, 482–6, and will not square with what is known of the plot of the *Telegonia* of Eugammon. A version of it occurs in Apollodorus, *Epitome*, vii, 40. Whether this also derives from Aristotle's *Constitution* or from some parallel variant of the same tradition is not certain. Among other minor differences Apollodorus makes Odysseus go to Aetolia. Now we know that Aristotle's *Constitution of the Ithakesians* (Rose, *Frag.* 465) brought 'the further adventures

of Odysseus' into connexion with the oracular shrine of Odysseus in Aetolia, where presumably it made the hero die. On the strength of this passage Hartman proposed to change the text from Ἰταλίαν to Αἰτωλίαν. In this he is possibly right, though the connexion of the exiled Odysseus with Italy is older than Aristotle. In Hesiod, *Theogony*, 1011 f., Agrios and Latinos are the sons of Odysseus by Kirke; the joint foundation of Rome by Aeneas and Odysseus may have been recorded by Hellanikos (*Frag.* 53 Müller, *Frag.* 84 Jacoby), and the story of the settlement and death of Odysseus in Etruria is at least as early as Theopompos (*F. H. G.*, Müller, i, p. 296, *Frag.* 114). For Hartman's emendation, therefore, is the known fact that Aristotle's *Constitution* mentioned the Aetolian mantic shrine, and the version given by Apollodorus, *Epitome*; against is the proper reluctance unnecessarily to change the text which is supported by the early existence of versions connecting 'the further adventures' with Italy. It is a nice point of probability. I incline towards Hartman's view. Another feature of the Aristotelian version of 'the further adventures of Odysseus' was that it married Telemachos to Nausicaa (*Frag.* 463 Rose), the princess whose home the post-Homeric Greeks placed in neighbouring Corcyra. The *Telegonia*, it will be remembered, concluded with the double marriage of Penelope to Telegonos and Kirke to Telemachos.

The version, then, which Aristotle was following, is markedly different not only from Homer but from the Cyclic tradition, and a feature of it seems to be a relatively local interest. The places and persons belong to North-Western Greece and its islands. Though it is true that Neoptolemos is closely associated in legend with Odysseus, who fetched him from Skyros, whom he accompanied on the mission to Philoktetes, whom he met at Maroneia on the journey home from Troy as narrated in the *Nostoi*, his real appropriateness as arbitrator in Ithaka is geographical. For the great ancestor of the Epirote royal house may almost be called the patron saint of Epirus (see Farnell, *H. C.*, p. 316; Robert, *Held.* pp. 1453–69).

Now that a local version of the story of Odysseus existed which differed from the epic tradition precisely in respect of the localization of persons and characters in the vicinity of Ithaka, and further that it was known to Aristotle, seems to be shown by *Poetics*, xxv, 16, 1461 b: 'The question about Ikarios has been treated in this fashion. The critics imagine that he was a Lacedaemonian. They think it strange, therefore, that Telemachos should not have met him when he went to Lacedaemon. But the Kephallenian story may perhaps be the true one. They allege that Odysseus took a wife from among themselves, and that her father was Ikadios not Ikarios. It is merely a mistake, then, that gives plausibility to the objection.' Cf. Ἰθακήσιος ὁ Ἰκάριος οὐ Σπαρτιάτης, Schol. *Odyssey*, xv, 16.

I am inclined, therefore, to think that the version of Odysseus's adventures which was followed by Aristotle in his *Constitution of the Ithakesians* had its origin in the Ionian islands. Now in the paper to which I have referred (*Annals*, xiv, pp. 8 f.) I have discussed the genealogical ties, to which Toepffer (*Att. Gen.*, pp. 84 f., 256 f.) drew attention, which were made to link Athens with the Ionian islands, e. g. through Kephalos, ancestor of the Athenian Kephalids, eponym of Kephallenia, and father by the she-bear of Arkeisios the grandfather of Odysseus, a story which again occurred in the *Constitution of the Ithakesians* (Rose, *Frag.* 462). If not invented for the purpose, these connexions were deliberately exploited as political propaganda by Athens in the fifth century. It is interesting, then, to notice that the ancestry of the family of Andokides was carried back to precisely the marriage of Telemachos with Nausicaa, which is a feature of our North-Western Greek version. This goes far to rehabilitate the text of Thucydides, i, 51, by explaining why the orator's grandfather should have been sent with the Athenian squadron to Corcyra, although he was not *strategos* as the inscription (Hicks and Hill, No. 53) clearly shows.

Turning next to the terms of Neoptolemos's awards, Odysseus is banished from his kingdom, which included, besides the three more important islands here mentioned, Neritos, Krokyleia, Aigilips, Samos, and the territory on the opposite mainland. All these were inhabited by the Kephallenians, as the subjects of Odysseus are uniformly called in the Homeric poems. (See T. W. Allen, *Homeric Catalogue*, pp. 88 f.) Banished homicides, e. g. Tlepolemos or Theoklymenos are to be met in the *Iliad* and in the *Odyssey*, but the idea that homicide pollutes the community does not appear to be Homeric. The exile of the murderer as the necessary consequence of even involuntary homicide is, however, a well-known principle of early Greek law, and the idea that the whole community was infected by the miasma attaching to bloodshed was deeply rooted in the Greek mind and continued strongly to colour the Greek theory of punishment for murder. *σαφῶς γὰρ οἴδαμεν ὅτι πάσης τῆς πόλεως μιαινομένης ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἕως ἂν διωχθῇ*, Antiphon, *Tetr.*, i, a, 3; compare *Tetr.*, i, a, 11, ii, a, 1, iii, a, 5, iii, c, 7. For the discussion of this topic see Rose, *Primitive Culture in Greece*, p. 201; Pausanias, i, 28 and ii, 29, 10, with Frazer's notes; Farnell, *C. G. S.*, i, pp. 66–9; *Evolution of Religion*, p. 145.

The members of the other party are ordered by Neoptolemos to make a yearly offering to Odysseus for the damage done to his house by the wooers, and this is transferred by Odysseus, not as in Robert, *Held.*, p. 1437, to Neoptolemos, but to Telemachos. This is of some interest, for it establishes the existence of a cult of Telemachos in Ithaka, the only example recorded, so far as I can learn, of a cult of that hero. For that our story here is the

aition of a genuine cult can hardly be doubted. The specification of offerings, which follows, exactly corresponds to similar prescriptions in sacrificial inscriptions, and the suggestion, which I owe to Dr. Farnell, that the original source behind Aristotle is here an actual ἱερὸς νόμος, is indubitably right.

The offering of barley-meal, wine, oil, and salt calls for no special comment. For κηρίον we may compare Dittenberger, *Syll.*, 1040, 20, Ἡλίωι ἀρεστῆρα κηρίον. Μοίραις ἀρεστῆρες, 111, κηρία, 111. Φάγιλος is explained by Liddell and Scott as 'a lamb either when it begins to be eatable or to eat alone'. The latter alternative seems hardly probable. The gloss in Hesychius φάγιλος· ἄμνος is probably taken either from this passage or from Aristotle direct. Similar technical terms for lambs appear to be φάναος (Hesychius, s. v. φάναοι) and φαννλός (Eustathius, 1625, 38). The precise meaning of these technical terms there is not the evidence to recover. Regulations for particular sacrifices quite normally define the age, as well as the sex and species, of the victim. The broad distinction as regards age is between the full-grown animal (τέλειον) and the immature (e. g. Dittenberger, *Syll.*, 1006, 11, 1024, 35; Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 1504). Sometimes sucklings (γαλαθηνὰ ἱερεῖα) are prescribed (e. g. Dittenberger, *Syll.*, 1025, 60; see further Stengel, *G. K.*, p. 155). The *phagilos*, no doubt, comes somewhere between the γαλαθηνόν and the τέλειον. No doubt there were many more technical terms of this kind in use than chance to have survived, e. g. πρόγονοι, first-born lambs (Hesychius, s. v., Dittenberger, *Syll.*, 1038, 9), or the μεῖον and the κούρειον which were respectively offered at the *Apatouria* at the registry of an infant and at the cutting of the adolescent's hair (see Stengel, *op. cit.*, p. 233).

We come now to the families of Koliadai and Boukolidai, which claimed descent from the trusty servitors, Eumaios the swineherd and Philoitios the cowherd. Such venerable ancestries were highly prized and proudly recorded in Plutarch's own day (e. g. *C. I. G.*, 1124, 1340, 1353, 1355, 1374, 1349). As a general rule such claims to heroic ancestry were bound up with hereditary priesthoods or hereditary religious obligations, and I am inclined to suspect that the Koliadai and Boukolidai performed hereditary religious duties in connexion with this cult of Telemachos. In the absence of evidence this is no more than a probable guess.

A small point of interest is the rarity in extant records of claims to descent from minor Homeric characters. I can think only of the Talthybiadai at Sparta (Herodotus, vii, 134), where there is a special vocational reason for the genealogy.

The enfranchisement of Eumaios and Philoitios, though not explicitly stated in any epic source could, no doubt, be supported by *Odyssey*, xxi, 214 f. The family names of their descendants belong to a 'Shepherd' or 'Herdman' type of gentile proper

name which was probably not more uncommon in Greece than it is with us (Eustathius, 1018, 28). For various name formations from βοῦς see Fick-Bechtel, *Griechische Personennamen*, pp. 80, 297, 384. Kollidai (Hesychius s. v.) was one of the old Athenian clans, and in *Iliad*, xv, 338 we find the Athenian Boukolides Sphelos. On the other hand, there appears to be no evidence for the existence of the Athenian noble clan of Boukoloi, which is postulated by Wilamowitz, *Hom. Untersuchungen*, p. 249, note 14 (see Toepffer, *Att. Gen.*, p. 264).

Question 15

Q. *What is the wooden dog among the Lokrians?*

A. *Lokros was the son of Phuskios, the son of Amphiktyon. He and Kabye were the parents of Opous. With the latter his father quarrelled, and taking with him many of the citizens, he consulted the oracle about a colony. The god told him to found a city wherever he should chance to be bitten by a wooden dog. Crossing over to the other sea he trod upon a dog-brier. And being troubled by the wound he stopped there a considerable number of days, in which, after exploring the country, he founded the cities Phuskeis and Hyanteia and the others which the so-called Ozolian Lokrians settled.*

Now these Lokrians were called Ozolian some say on account of Nessos, others on account of the serpent Python, their bodies having been washed up by the sea and having putrified in the country of the Lokrians. But some say that the men, through wearing fleeces and goatskins and living for the most part among the herds of goats acquired an unpleasant odour. But others, on the contrary, say that the country, which is prolific in flowers, took its name from its sweet perfume. Among these, for example, is Archytas of Amphissa. For he has written thus:

"Lovely Makyna crowned with clusters of grapes and breathing fragrance."

There is no evidence of the existence of a *Constitution of the Ozolian Lokrians*, but that matters connected with them were dealt with in the *Constitution of the Opuntian Lokrians* is shown by Harpocration, s. v. Ἄμφισσα = Rose, *Frag.* 521. Giessen (*op. cit.*, pp. 466–8) would, therefore, derive the wooden dog and the story of the dog-brier from this work. The discrepancy in the name of the wife of Lokros, whom Aristotle is said to have named Kambyse (Schol. Pind., *Ol.*, ix, 86) and Plutarch calls Kabye, Giessen would explain as being due to a slip of Plutarch's or a copyist's pen.

V. Rose includes our passage under Aristotle, *Frag.* 520, where Eustathius, *Il.*, p. 277, also rightly figures. From Eustathius, who is clearly drawing from the same source as Plutarch, Rose corrected the meaningless repetition of Lokros to Opous. On the other hand, Weniger's proposal to alter εἰς τὴν ἑτέραν θάλασσαν into the words of Eustathius εἰς τὰ πρὸς ἑσπέραν Παρνασσοῦ can hardly be justified.

The explanation of the word Ozolian from the story of Nessos may be derived from the Lesbian, Myrsilos of Methymna, a writer of Alexandrine date, whose account of the matter is quoted by Antigonus Carystius, 129 (Beckmann), 117 (Keller). That Plutarch was acquainted with this writer is shown by *de soll. an.*, 36, 984 E, and *Aratus*, 5. But if he is using Myrsilos, Plutarch has quoted, as he sometimes does, from memory and inaccurately.

Archytas of Amphissa was a contemporary of Eratosthenes (see references in Knaack, *P. W.*, ii, pp. 599–600).

Upon the political map of historical Greece the Lokrians appear in two separated groups, the Eastern or Opuntian Lokrians facing Euboea and the Western or Ozolian Lokrians upon the Gulf of Corinth, divided by a central area occupied by the Phokians. The language of all three indicates a mixture of Aeolians and North-Western Greeks (Oldfather, *P. W.*, xiii, p. 1155), and dialectical affinities show that Phokians and Lokrians were probably akin. Two hypotheses are obviously tenable *a priori* in order to explain the political map: (1) that the Lokrians were later comers than the Phokians, and that their invasion split upon the rock of a pre-existing Phokian area into two independent streams: (2) that the Lokrians were the first comers and occupied the whole area from sea to sea, before a subsequent Phokian penetration split them in two. Of these the second is to be preferred. It is supported by the traces of a common Lokrian franchise, which embraced members of both groups, and by the very close connexion which was always recognized to exist between Eastern and Western Lokrians (see Cary in *C. A. H.*, iii, pp. 612 f.). The genealogies and tradition point the same way. Opous is early connected with the Deukalion saga as the place where the first men were made after the Flood, and alternatively here or at Kunos, Pyrrha was buried. Hesiod, in reference to Deukalion, appears to have stated that his Lokrian subjects were Lelegians by race (Strabo, vii, 7, 2, 322), a view shared by Aristotle (Strabo, *loc. cit.*) and by other ancient authorities (Pliny, *N. H.*, iv, 8 (12), 27; Steph. Byz., s.v. Φύσκος). Tradition, that is to say, regarded the Lokrians as immemorially settled in Eastern Lokris.

Tradition, again, uniformly represents the Western Lokrians as being immigrant from Eastern Lokris. It was a natural tendency, of course, for the earlier peoples in and about Boeotia, if for any reason they were displaced, to move westwards. An example is

provided by the Hyantes, who were said to have been driven out of Boeotia by Kadmos and to have founded Hyampolis in Phokis, while they have left traces further west in Aetolia. If the reading Hyanteia here is correct, this people may be responsible for the occurrence of the name in Western Lokris. It is probable, however, that both here and in Steph. Byz. Ὕαντες . . . ἔστι καὶ Ὑαντία πόλις Λοκρῶν the name is due to a mistake, and Oiantheia is really meant (see Bölte, in *P. W.*, ix, p. 22).

The official name of the Western Lokrians was Hesperioi, and their crest was the evening star (Strabo, ix, 3, 1, 416), which appears with a bunch of grapes upon the coins of Amphissa (Head, *H. N.*, p. 337). The name Ozolian first appears in Herodotus, viii, 32. Its derivation has defied the ingenuity of scholars ancient and modern. The view that it was in origin an uncomplimentary nickname is supported by the fact that it was never applied by the Lokrians to themselves. Further, the Western Lokrians seem always to have been in low repute with the other Greeks, and Pausanias (x, 38, 4) tells us that in the late classical period the people of Amphissa were ashamed of being Lokrians and preferred to be called Aetolians. For this reason I am inclined to reject the explanation, which seems to be favoured by Oldfather (*op. cit.*, p. 1157), that both Ozolians and Lokrians, from ὄζος and λοκρός, mean originally "bowmen". Macan's suggestion (*ad* Herod., viii, 32) that the word may mean "branch Lokrians", as opposed to Lokrians of the parent stem, is not likely to find wide favour. Whatever its original meaning, the most popular derivation of the name in antiquity was from ὄζειν to smell. Of its application various explanations were offered.

(1) *The inhabitants smelt.* It has been left, I think, to moderns to suggest an actual physical peculiarity of the Western Lokrians, *sicut olent ob sudorem foetidum Iudaei et Aethiopes* (Beckmann, in his edition of Antigonus Carystius, p. 179, where a pleasant medieval story of Judas Iscariot and the odour which still attaches to the place where he fell, is quoted as an analogy). The ancient explanation was that the inhabitants of a country which, except for the vale of Amphissa, notoriously contained very little arable land (cf. the oracle οὗτος μὲν Τάφιός τοι ἀνήροτος, Diodorus, viii, *Frag.* 17) and in civilization remained in the condition of primitive Greece (Thucydides, 1, 5), consisted of rude mountaineers and goatherds clad in raw hides and fleeces, the smell of which justly earned them their soubriquet. For this view, which is here quoted by Plutarch, see also Pausanias, x, 38, 2; Eustathius, p. 276; Schol. *Il.*, ii, 527; *Et. Mag.*, p. 192 (Gaisford) s. v. βδόλος.

(2) *The Lokrian women were afflicted with an unpleasant odour.* 'Seu quod uxores eorum Veneris ira, uiris suis fuerint foeditate tetri odoris inuisae,' Seruius, *Aen.* iii, 399. This story is clearly

borrowed from the tale of the Lemnian women, the references for which will be found in Robert, *Held.*, p. 850.

(3) *The strong-smelling flora of Lokris earned the country its name.* This theory appears in two forms: (*a*) that of the patriotic Archytas, which is quoted by Plutarch. It could no doubt claim some support from the false form Euantheia for the name Oiantheia (see refs. in *P. W.*, xiii, p. 1147; *Suppl.*, iii, p. 444), the name Euanthes of the oikist of the Western Lokrians in Italy (Strabo, vi, 1, 7, 259), and the cult title Euanthes of Dionysos (see *P. W.*, vi, 845). In this view the floweriness of the land pleasantly scented the air.

For the site of the lovely Makyna or Makynia of the poet see Oldfather, *op. cit.*, p. 1148.

(*b*) Pausanias, x, 38, 2, on the other hand, derives the name from the unpleasant smell of a kind of asphodel which bloomed there in profusion. By this, I suspect, he intends the snake lily, a sinisterly handsome plant, the flower of which is of a purplish dark colour, not unlike the hue of putrescent meat. This appearance it reinforces by an overpowering imitation of the smell of carrion, in order to attract the flies which fertilize it. It grows in many parts of Greece. Dodwell, however, conjectures that the sour smell of a certain kind of spurge, which grows abundantly in Lokris and has given its modern name, Galaxidi, to the ancient Oiantheia, may have originated the nickname (Dodwell, *Tour*, i, p. 13; *ap.* Frazer, *Paus.*, vol. v, p. 462). While this is possible, I cannot think that spurge can have been the flower, which Pausanias himself had in mind, when speaking of asphodel.

(4) *The water of the streams which had their rise in Mt. Taphiassos, or of a marsh* (Seruius, *Aen.*, iii, 399), *or of the river Ozon* (Schol. *Il.*, ii, 527) *smelt unpleasantly.*

The property of these sulphurous streams, which is attested by modern travellers, is expressed in their modern Greek name βρωμανερά (Bursian, *Geographie*, i, p. 134). The explanation of it, prevalent in antiquity, was that their sources were fouled by the rotting bodies of centaurs poisoned by the arrows of Herakles (Pausanias, *loc. cit.*; Strabo, viii, 4, 8, 427; Schol. *Il.*, ii, 527; Myrsilos of Lesbos, *ap.* Antig. Caryst., 129 [Beckmann], 117 [Keller]).

Plutarch's alternative that the body of Nessos or that of Python was washed up on the shores of Lokris is echoed by Seruius's explanation of his putrid marsh. *Hi uero qui iuxta Delphos colunt Ozolei nuncupantur, siue a foetore draconis quem Apollo interemit.*

Mount Taphiassos or Taphios, the alleged site of the grave of Nessos, formed the boundary between Aetolia and Ozolian Lokris. At its eastern foot lay Makyna (Strabo, x, 2, 4, 451). These eastern marches were debateable land; about 338 B.C. Philip of Macedon definitely took them from the Lokrians and gave

them to the Aetolians (see Bursian, *Geographie*, 1, pp. 134, 144–5, and the references there given, and for all questions of the topography of Western Lokris, Oldfather in *P. W.*, xiii, pp. 1143 f.).

The story, of which these explanations of Ozolian provide examples, that sulphurated springs derived their smell from the bodies or festering wounds of giants or centaurs was a common form of popular aetiological legend. Other examples are the Anigros[1] (Ovid, *Met.*, xv, 282; Strabo, viii, 3, 19, 346; Paus., v, 5, 10), the waters of which are in fact sulphurous and were used in antiquity to cure leprosy (Frazer, *Paus.*, vol. iii, p. 479): the sulphur springs near Baiae and Cumae (Strabo, v, 4, 6, 245), and a similar spring at Leuka on the Iapygian promontory (Strabo, vi, 3, 5, 281; [Aristotle], *de mir. ausc.*, 97). Similar, possibly, is the origin of the explanation of the name Pytho from the rotting of the snake in *Hom. Hymn Ap.*, 371–4.

The connexion of Nessos with the streams of Lokris is, therefore, solely with their sulphurous smell, and we may notice in passing that Wagner's theory (Roscher, *Lex.*, ii, p. 1049, iii, p. 282) that it supports the view that Nessos = Nestos and that the Centaurs were in origin river-gods, lacks any foundation at all.

A completely different explanation derived Ozolian not from ὄζειν *but from* ὄζος, *a shoot.* The bitch of Orestheus, the son of Deukalion and king of Aetolia, littered a stick. This was buried and produced a vine. Orestheus called his son Phytios, and his grandson had the still more speaking name of Oineus.[2] Oineus in this story was the father of Aitolos (Paus., x, 38, 1). This story goes back to Hecataeus (*F. H. G.*, Jacoby, *Frag.* 15). It seems to be definitely Aetolian and contains no Elean intrusions.

The genealogies of the Deukalionids, as they affect Lokris, have been modified by two political factors: (1) the close association of the Western Lokrians with their immediate neighbours the Aetolians (see Oldfather, *loc. cit.*, pp. 1179 f.); (2) the Aetolian and Lokrian migration into Elis.

With regard to Elis the accepted traditional account of the Dorian invasion made Oxylos, the son of Haemon, comrade of the Heraclids, the founder of Elis. Perhaps, to justify this aggression,

[1] An alternative explanation was that Melampus threw the *καθάρματα*, after cleansing the Proitids, into the stream (Strabo, *loc. cit.*; Paus., *loc. cit.*). This story Ovid transfers to the Klitorian spring (*Met.* xv, 325).

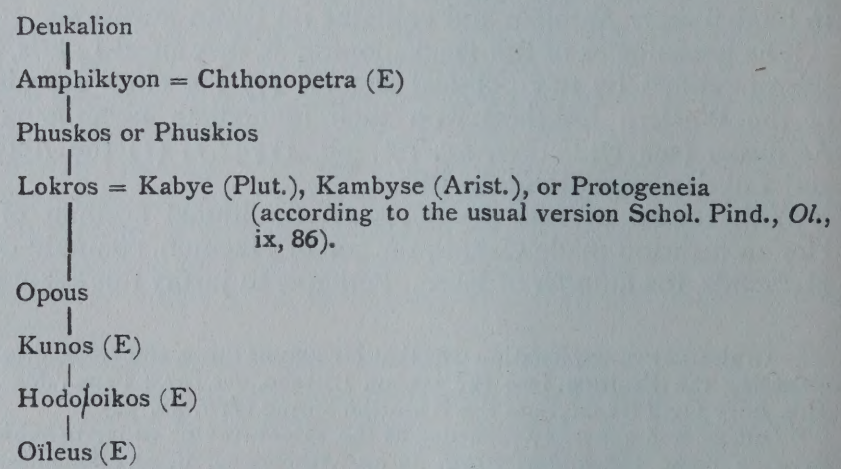
[2] Oineus was generally regarded as the discoverer of wine, to which he gave its name (Nicander, *Frag.* 22 *ap.* Athenaeus, ii, 35; Melanippides, *Frag.* 5, Bergk). The initial discovery, according to some, was made by his intelligent goatherd, Staphylos, or the plant, according to others, was given to him by Dionysos, as some said (Hyginus, *Fab.*, 129) in return for the favours of Althea. An Argive tradition put his grave at Oenoe in Argolis (Paus., ii, 25, 2; Apollod., *Bibl.*, i, 8, 6), which was explained by the story of his expulsion from Aetolia by the sons of Agrios and his reception in Argos by Diomedes.

the genealogists have tried to show that Aetolia was originally conquered from the Kouretes by the Epeian Aitolos, son of Endymion, so that Oxylos was but returning, in the third generation, to the ancient home of his race (Ephoros *ap.* Strabo, viii, 3, 33, 357, x, 3, 2, 463). That actually there was a strong Aetolian and Lokrian element in the population of Elis in historical times there is no reason to doubt. It is supported by linguistic considerations (see Swoboda in *P. W.*, v, p. 2380), by place-names, e. g. a community of Opuntians in Elis (Strabo, ix, 4, 2, 425; Steph. Byz. s. v., Ὀπόεις; Diodorus xiv, 17), or the river Opous in Elis (Pindar, *Ol.*, ix, 64), and in Lokris (Schol. Ap. Rhod. 1780), by mythology, e. g. Phuskoa, the Elean love of Dionysos, and by parallels in religious organization, e. g. the Elean college of Sixteen Women, of which Phuskoa was the first head, and the Thyiades of Delphi (see Weniger in Roscher, *Lex.*, iii, p. 2488 and the references there given). This connexion (for which see further Oldfather, *loc. cit.*, p. 1166) is no doubt the cause of the interweaving of the Elean, Aetolian, and Lokrian genealogies.

A further feature of this group of genealogies and legends is their markedly Dionysiac character, for which the Elean parallel to the Thyiades has prepared us.

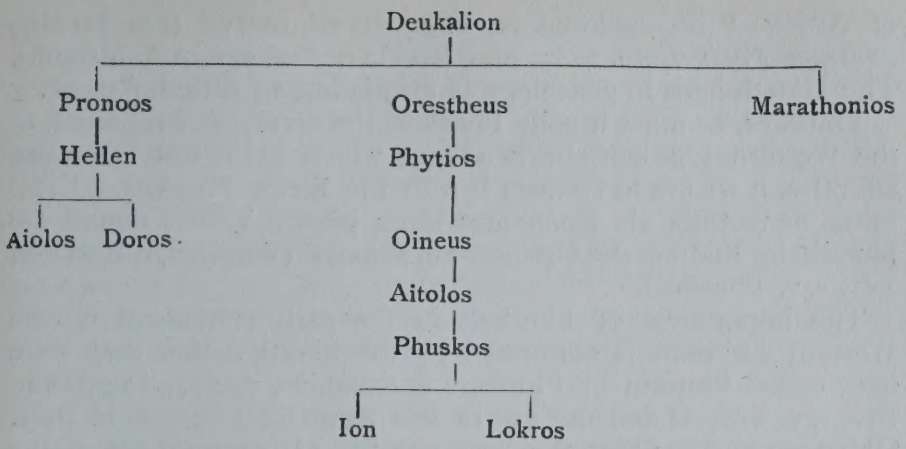
Coming now to the genealogies themselves it may be convenient to set out some typical examples.

I. is that here followed by Plutarch. Eustathius, as has already been noticed, is drawing from the same source. Names which occur in Eustathius but not in Plutarch are indicated by (E).


Deukalion
Amphiktyon = Chthonopetra (E)
Phuskos or Phuskios
Lokros = Kabye (Plut.), Kambyse (Arist.), or Protogeneia (according to the usual version Schol. Pind., Ol., ix, 86).
Opous
Kunos (E)
Hodoloikos (E)
Oïleus (E)

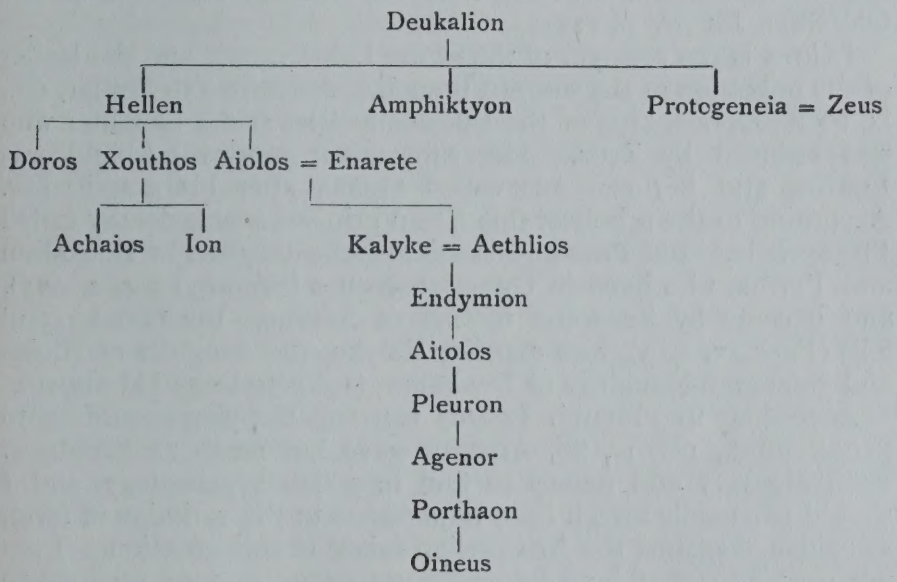
The absence of Aetolian and, with the possible exception of Kabye, of Elean elements suggests that this is an early and an East Greek genealogy.

II. The genealogy in Hecataeus (see Jacoby, *F. Gr. Hist.*, i, p. 321) is as follows:



Here we have strong Aetolian influence absent from I.

III. As an example of the more developed West Greek genealogy we may take that in Apollodorus, *Bibl.*, i, 8.



The strong tendency to work in Aetolian and Elean elements at the expense of the Eastern Lokrian will be evident at a glance.

We may therefore regard it as probable that Plutarch's line belongs to an early East Greek tradition. Coming to the names in it, Amphiktyon is an artificial eponym of the Delphic Amphictyony. He was also early claimed by Attic tradition, whose assertion of a right to the Deukalion saga has been noticed above (p. 57). Amphiktyon is alternatively the son of Deukalion or autochthonous. He was connected with the introduction of the worship of Dionysos from Eleutherae, and was reputed to have invented the mixing of wine (Athenaeus, ii, 7). Mythographers then came to distinguish between two distinct Amphiktyons, (*a*) the eponym of the Amphictyony, and (*b*) the prehistoric king

of Attica; "die Spaltung ist offenbar sekundär" (see Jacoby, *Marmor Parium*, pp. 34–5, and Roscher, *Lex.* s. v. Amphictyon). The Marathonios in genealogy II also points to Attic influence.

Phuskios, or more usually Phuskos, the eponym of a branch of the Western Lokrians, bears a name which again has Dionysiac affinities, if we are to connect it with the Elean Phuskoa. "Auf seine Bedeutung als Eponymos eines ganzen Volkes deutet die pluralische Bildung des Ortsnamens Φυσκεῖς" (Weniger in Roscher, *Lex.* s. v. Phuskos).

The importance of Phuskeis in the early settlement of the Western Lokrians is confirmed by the tradition that they were once called Phuskoi or Phuskeis (Eustathius, p. 277, 19; Steph. Byz. s. v. Φύσκος) and the use of this name for Lokrians in Italy. Oldfather suggests that the town was the early metropolis of the Western Lokrians analogous to Opous, the metropolis which gave its name to the Eastern branch (Oldfather, *loc. cit.*, p. 1156). For the probable site of the town near the modern Malandrinoú see Oldfather, *loc. cit.*, p. 1145.

Lokros is the eponym of the whole Lokrian race and the leader of the migration of the western branch. According to Pindar, *Ol.*, ix, 68 ff., Opous, king of the Epeians in Elis, had a daughter who was seduced by Zeus. Her subsequent mortal husband was Lokros, and her son was called Opous after his grandfather. According to the scholiast this Elean princess was generally called Protogeneia. But Protogeneia was also the daughter of Deukalion and Pyrrha, who lived in Opuntian Kunos (Strabo, ix, 4, 2, 425), and became by Zeus the mother of Aethlios, the first king of Elis (Paus., v, 1, 3), who married Kalyke, the daughter of Aiolos and great-granddaughter of Deukalion (see genealogy III above).

According to Plutarch Lokros married Kabye; according to Schol. Pind., *Ol.*, ix, 86, Aristotle gave her name as Kambyse. Both are very odd names to find in a Greek genealogy, and I should personally attach little importance to the variation of form, as evidence against the Aristotelian origin of this question. I am not convinced that both forms are not wrong, and am inclined to suspect some muddle over Kalyke, daughter of Aiolos, to be at the bottom of it.

What is further remarkable is that this name appears to be the only possible Elean element in Plutarch's genealogy.

Opous is the eponym of the Opuntian Lokrians. Eustathius, who carries the line further, makes him the father of Kunos, the eponym of the Opuntian port, which was famous in Homer's day (*Iliad*, ii, 531). In the genealogies he is alternatively son of Opous or son of Lokros. Against his name having anything to do with the dog-brier is the difference in the length of the vowel, though popular etymology does not, of course, observe the rules.

The story of the dog-brier was given also by Didymus in a note upon the use of the word κύναρος by Sophocles (Pearson-Jebb,

Frag. 718). "And there is a plant", he continues, "called the dog-brier, something between a briar and a tree, according to the statement of Theophrastos, and it has a red fruit, like a pomegranate, and it has a leaf like that of the willow." Hesychius s. v. κύναρος, controverting the statement that *kynaros* and *kynosbatos* denote the same plant, alludes to the oracle about the wooden dog without quoting it.

It is inevitable that the story of the wooden dog has been connected with the story of the bitch which littered a stick. Both the former and the latter have been interpreted in terms of the dog-star. "Wooden stakes can produce wine in the dog days." (See Weniger in Roscher, *Lex.* s. v. Lokros, and Usener, *Rhein. Mus.*, xxiii, pp. 335 f.) Like all views, which depend upon a series of plausible assumptions rather than upon evidence, this is difficult to controvert, for it is less the logic than the nature of the premises which is questionable.

In my opinion this explanation of the story of Orestheus's bitch is plausible rather than probable. In relation to the story of the dog-brier the element of improbability is increased. Although there is a noticeable similarity of idea (viz. the conjunction of dogs and plants) in the two stories, and the form of one may have influenced the other, they are not the same story, and it is not at all clear what relationship, if any, there may be between them. One story rests upon a genealogy almost wholly Aetolian, the other upon one which is almost purely East Greek. In the dog-brier story there is no explicit connexion with Dionysos or with wine; the most that we can say here is that through Amphiktyon, in his Attic *avatar*, and Phuskios, Dionysiac elements can be alleged in this as in all the Lokrian genealogies. Of the dog-star there is no trace at all, for the star of the Hesperian Lokrians is not Sirius. Further, the dog-star, a great favourite with some German mythologists, even in the Erigone story appears as an afterthought, and does not in fact provide an exception to the general rule that early Greek mythology has very little to do with the starry heavens. To the unbiassed mind the riddling oracle has a perfectly genuine appearance, and there is no overt indication in this legend, which is perfectly straightforward as it stands, of any connexion with Dionysos or with wine, or with its discovery.

Question 16

Q. *What is that which is called by the Megarians aphabroma?*

A. *King Nisos, from whom Nisaea was named, married from Boeotia Abrote, the daughter of Onchestos, sister of Megareus (to be his wife). And, as it seems, she was a woman of remarkable good sense and exceptionally*

seemly behaviour. Now when she died, the Megarians voluntarily mourned for her, and Nisos, wishing to establish an eternal memorial of her fame, ordered the townswomen to wear the kind of dress which she used to wear, and after her he called this costume aphabroma. It seems too that even the god (i. e. Apollo) *assisted in preserving the fame of the woman, for although the Megarian women more than once desired to change their costume, he prevented it with an oracle.*

Questions 16, 17, 18, and 59 deal with Megarian history. Of these 18 and 59 upon internal evidence are certainly from the same source, and I should agree with Giessen (*op. cit.*, pp. 461–3) that this is probably Aristotle's *Constitution of the Megarians*, the existence of which is directly attested by Strabo, vii, 7, 2, 322 (Rose, *Frag.* 509). Questions 16 and 17 are not necessarily from the same source, though, as there is nothing against their being so, this may be considered the most probable hypothesis. It is possible that 16 (Giessen, *op cit.*, p. 465) and 17 (Giessen, *op. cit.*, pp. 463–4) are from the Aristotelian *Constitution*. As a possible alternative for 16 Giessen suggests Andron of Halikarnassos, who is used by Plutarch, *Theseus*, 25, for the Athenian claim to an original control of the Megarid and the partition between the sons of Pandion (cf. Strabo, ix, 1, 6, 392).

Now it is true that Plutarch shows acquaintance with the Megarian historians Dieuchidas (Müller, *F. H. G.*, iv, p. 388), quoted in *Lycurgus*, 2, and Hereas (Müller, *F. H. G.*, iv, p. 426), quoted in *Theseus*, 20, and *Solon*, 10, 32. A Megarian Praxiteles is also cited in *Q. Conuiu.*, v, 31. But the tone of the last sentence of our question suggests that it is not from a Megarian source, and this is borne out by the details. It is quite clear from the polemic of Pausanias against the local historians of Megara, that the version of early Megarian history, which is here followed, was not that which found favour in Megara itself.

Our story is a pseudo-historical *aition* for a local costume. For the genre one may compare Herodotus, v, 88–9, on why Athenian women do not wear brooches, while Argive and Aiginetan women wear very large ones. The legendary history of Megara is well known to have suffered distortion for political reasons. How successful Athenian propaganda proved in pushing the Attic version is shown by the hostile and incredulous attitude of Pausanias towards the Megarians' version of their own history. The Athenian story of the partition among the four sons of Pandion, when Nisos surrendered his claim to Attica to his elder brother Aigeus and took Megara for his share, first appears in literature in Sophocles (*Frag.* 24, Pearson-Jebb). An earlier red-figured vase, however, shows it to be pre-Sophoclean, and it has

been thought, with some probability, to have been invented at the court of Peisistratos (see Wagner in Roscher, *Lex.*, iii, pp. 435–8). This version was canonized by the Atthidographers, who differed only as to the boundaries of the Megarian kingdom, Philochorus making it extend from the Isthmus to Pythion, Andron including Eleusis and Thriasia in Nisos's kingdom. According to the Athenian historians it was the abortive attack upon Attica by the Peloponnesians, in the reign of Kodros, which first wrested the Megarid from the Ionians and gave it to Corinthians and others, who Doricized it (Pausanias, i, 39, 4).

It would be hazardous to look for history in this much manipulated and tendencious legend. Nor can I personally believe that Homeric Boeotia included the Megarid, as Mr. T. W. Allen, following Wilamowitz and Busolt, seems to hold (*Homeric Catalogue*, p 57). In spite of the legendary connexions between Boeotia and Megara, which we shall have reason to notice, I find it difficult to believe that Nisa (*Iliad*, ii, 508), which is catalogued along with Onchestos and Anthedon, can really be Megara. I cannot here join in "the general admission" which Mr. Allen postulates. References to the literature against, as well as for, the identification of Nisa with Nisaea will be found in Pfister, *Reliquienkult*, i, p. 33, note 94.

Nisos was generally regarded as the eponym of Nisaea (Hellanikos, *Frags.* 75, 78, Jacoby; Paus., i, 39, 4; Schol. Theocr., xii, 27). In poetic language Megara is "the hill of Nisos" (Pindar, *Pyth.*, ix, 91; *Nem.*, v, 45) or "the city of Nisos" (Euripides, *Herc. Fur.*, 954), and Alexandrine poets use Nisaeans as a synonym for Megarians (e. g. Ap. Rhod., ii, 847; cf. Theocritus, xii, 27 Νισαῖοι Μεγαρῆες). A place named Nisos in the Megarid is mentioned by Thucydides (iv, 118).

The Athenians made Nisos a son of the Attic Pandion II, and they claimed that, after his death at the sack of Megara by Minos, his body was brought to Athens and was buried behind the Lyceum (Pausanias, i, 19, 4). The Megarians, however, denied the story of the war with Minos altogether (Pausanias, i, 39, 6, i, 41, 5). It would seem to follow that the story of the purple lock and Skylla's treachery is not Megarian. This story was known to Aeschylus (*Choephoroi*, 612 f.). The love motive, however, and perhaps the punishment of the faithless princess are, I think, Alexandrine additions. The improved tale, however, was popular. There are at least six classical variants of it, of which the story of Tarpeia is the most famous, and it still commonly provides an *aition* in the Eastern Mediterranean for the not infrequent place-name 'Maiden's Castle'.

The native Megarian tradition seems to have started with Kar, the builder of the *megaron* of Demeter and of the citadel called Karia (cf. the Kadmeia of Thebes). Then came ten blank generations, after which we are given the succession Lelex, Kleson, Pylas,

Skiron. Between Skiron, the son, and Nisos, the grandson of Pylas, whose daughter Pandion had married, there was a contest for the throne, which was settled by the award of Aeacus that Nisos should be king and Skiron general. Clearly the tale resembles that of Ion's becoming commander-in-chief at Athens; if, however, the local tradition originally regarded Nisos as a foreigner, the roles of king and polemarch are here reversed. Further, Megarian tradition insisted that both the successors of Nisos obtained the throne by marriage. Megareus married Iphinoe, daughter of Nisos, and Alkathoos married the daughter of Megareus (Pausanias, i, 39, 6, i, 41, 5). The native antiquaries did not derive Megara from Megareus, but alternatively from the *megaron* of Demeter which was built by Kar (Pausanias, 1, 40, 6), or from Megaros, the son of Zeus and a local nymph, who escaped the Flood of Deukalion by taking refuge upon the summit of Geraneia (Pausanias, i, 40, 1).

Plutarch here follows the non-Megarian story, which brought Megareus from Onchestos to help Nisos against Minos. According to the Boeotians, Megareus fell in this struggle, and the name of the place was changed in consequence from Nisa to Megara (Pausanias, i, 39, 5). The father of this Megareus, according to Plutarch, with whom Ovid, *Met.*, x, 60 and [Scymnus] 505 agree, was Onchestos. Onchestos was the son of Poseidon, or alternatively the son of Boiotos, the son of Poseidon, who founded the town of Onchestos and the famous cult of Poseidon at the Onchestian grove. The usual version makes Megareus the son of Poseidon (e. g. Pausanias, i, 39, 6) by Oinope, the daughter of Epopeus, according to Hyginus, *Fab.*, 157. Other versions gave Megareus as the son of Hippomenes (Apollodorus, *Bibl.*, iii, 15, 8; Ovid, on the other hand, makes Hippomenes the son of Megareus, *Met.*, x, 605), or as the son of Apollo (Steph. Byz. s. v. Μέγαρα).

It is possible that there has been confusion between two distinct legendary heroes, a Boeotian and a Megarian Megareus, or, perhaps more probably, Megareus, thanks to his name, has been inserted into Megarian history from outside. There is evidence of considerable contact between Boeotian and Megarian legend,[1] which is perhaps the product of the era of colonization and joint ventures, such as that of Herakleia Pontika. This would provide the opportunity, and the motive is provided by the name, for

[1] Megareus, son of Kreon of the dragon's seed (Aeschylus, *Sept.*, 474; Sophokles, *Antig.*, 1303), and Megara, daughter of Kreon, the Theban wife of Herakles, support the Boeotian home of Megareus. For Boeotian heroes in Megara, Ino and Autonoe, daughters of Kadmos, were buried in the Megarid; there was one grave of Alkmena wife of the Theban Amphitryon in the Megarid and another at Haliartos; Astykrateia and Manto were buried in Megara. The references will be found in Pfister, *op. cit.*, i, p. 28, note 80. Pfister, for whom heroes are faded gods, would explain these contacts as the product of common cults.

working Boeotian Megareus into the legendary genealogies of Megara.

Abrote, the daughter of Onchestos, is otherwise unknown. If the etymology of ἀφάβρωμα is to be preserved, the name must be Habrote from ἁβρός. Compare the names Ἀβραγόρα, Ἄβρις, Ἀβροία, Ἀβρυλλίς (Fick-Bechtel, *Griech. Personennamen*, p. 39), and Habro, the name of the wife of Kandaules (Ptol. Heph., *F. H. G.*, Müller, iv, p. 278), and the male names Habron, Habronichos, Habronides, Habryllos, *P. W.*, vii, pp. 2155–7. On the name see further Robert, *Held.*, i, p. 347; Tümpell in *P. W.*, i, p. 115.

For the word ἀφάβρωμα compare Hesychius ἄβρωμα· στολῆς γυναικείας εἶδος.

σωφροσύνη, politically the virtue proper to aristocracies (e. g. in Question 18 below), domestically denotes the supreme excellence of feminine behaviour. ἐμὸν δ' ἔφησεν ἡ μήτηρ ἔργον εἶναι σωφρονεῖν, said the model young wife of Ischomachos, Xenophon, *Oik.*, vii, 14.

Question 17

Q. *Who is the spear-friend?*

A. *In olden times the Megarid was organized in village communities, the citizens being distributed in five divisions. And they were called Heraeis and Peiraeis and Megareis and Kynosoureis and Tripodiskioi. Now when the Corinthians brought about a civil war among them (for the Corinthians were always plotting to make the Megarid subject to themselves), they, nevertheless, being decent folk, waged war in a moderate and neighbourly way. For no one harmed the men who were working on the land at all, and those who were captured in war had to pay a fixed ransom, which was received after they had been set free. For they did not first collect the money, but he who captured a prisoner took him to his house and, after giving him to share in his salt and his table, sent him off home. The man, therefore, who brought the ransom money was praised and remained a perpetual friend of his captor, being called "spear-friend", instead of captive of the spear. But the man who defaulted was dishonoured as an unjust and untrustworthy person, not only among the enemy but also among his fellow-citizens.*

This is perhaps drawn from Aristotle, *Constitution of the Megarians*, see p. 92 above.

The evidence for Megarian history is extremely fragmentary and, in so far as it is derived from Athenian sources, biassed and

precarious. We have seen above (p. 93) that the Megarian tradition regarded the original inhabitants of the Megarid as a blend of Carian and Lelegian, the Athenian tradition claimed that they were Ionian and were at one time subject to Athens, while some scholars have postulated a Boeotian kingdom extending in Homeric times to the Isthmus of Corinth. These last two theories do not seem to me to have much probability, and I am inclined to think that the great attack upon Attica by the Dorians in the reign of Kodros, is as fictitious as the notorious boundary pillar at the Isthmus, which was said to have perished upon that occasion.

On the other hand the tradition, such as it is, is unanimous in representing the Megarid as having been Doricized from the south, and the view put forward by Cauer (*Parteien und Politiker in Megara und Athen*, Stuttgart, 1890, pp. 42–4), and adopted by Wade Gery (in *C. A. H.*, ii, p. 534), that Megara was conquered from the north by a Dorian wave of invasion which preceded "the return of the Heraclids" seems to me most improbable. The strongest argument in its favour is the apparent absence in Megara of any additional tribe to the three Dorian tribes (Cauer, *op. cit.*, p. 43). This, however, is not conclusive, while the theory is not easy to square not only with the tradition about Megara, but also with that of the inviolability of Attica. Any support for it, which has been derived from this Question, appears to me to be based upon misunderstanding. Such as it is, the evidence would appear to indicate two facts: (1) that the indigenous population of the Megarid was non-Dorian; (2) that at an early date the Dorians of the northern Peloponnese conquered and Doricized it.

The question then arises were 'the olden times' of Plutarch's account of Megarian chivalry supposed to be before or after the Dorian conquest of Megara? Although it is true that the usual tradition represents the conquest not as due to long intrigues by Corinth but to occupation by the Dorian army which Kodros repelled, I am of opinion that the condition of pre-Dorian Megara is here intended.

Thucydides has told us that all Greek states were originally organized in independent village communities (i, 10; for early Attica, ii, 15), and many, of course, remained so organized in historical times. We shall find another example of this primitive organization in early Tanagra (Question 37 below). σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τόπους τοὺς κατὰ Πελοπόννησον πλὴν ὀλίγων, οὓς κατέλεξεν ὁ ποιητής, οὐ πόλεις ἀλλὰ χώρας νομίζειν δεῖ, συστήματα δήμων ἔχουσαν ἑκάστην πλείω, ἐξ ὧν ὕστερον αἱ γνωριζόμεναι πόλεις συνῳκίσθησαν, οἷον τῆς Ἀρκαδίας, Μαντίνεια μὲν ἐκ πέντε δήμων . . . Τεγέα δ' ἐξ ἐννέα, ἐκ τοσούτων δὲ καὶ Ἠραία . . . Αἴγιον ἐξ ἑπτὰ ἢ ὀκτὼ δήμων συνεπολίσθη, Πάτραι δὲ ἐξ ἑπτά, Δύμη δὲ ἐξ ὀκτώ (Strabo, viii, 3, 2, 336: see further E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*,[2] ii,

p. 295; Busolt, *Die Lakedaimonier und ihre Bundesgenossen*, i, p. 237).

It is notorious that in most of the states of Greece a συνοικισμός replaced συστήματα δήμων by a city state. Once formed a city state might forcibly be split up again into its constituent parts, as was Mantinea by Sparta, but this decentralization never occurred as a voluntary act. The condition of the Megarid here indicated must therefore have preceded the συνοικισμός of Megara. But it is very difficult to believe that the Dorian conquest of the Megarid was not followed by the concentration of political authority in the town of Megara, both upon grounds of general probability and also from the analogy of the action of Dorian conquerors elsewhere. For what it is worth, the tradition, which Strabo follows, implies that *synoecism* immediately followed the Dorian conquest.[1]

The argument that the five divisions here enumerated by Plutarch correspond to a regular Dorian system, of which the five villages of Sparta are an example, assumes what it sets out to prove. For, in fact, there is no evidence of any particular favourite number in the constituent local elements of Dorian communities. It is true that both Sparta and Mantinea consisted of five villages, but as the above-quoted passage of Strabo shows, the number varied, no doubt, with the accident of local circumstances in various places. There is therefore no special nor Dorian significance in the number of Megarian *komai* as is often mistakenly supposed (e. g. by Glotz and Cohen, *Histoire grecque*, i, p. 327).

It is, of course, true that Dorian Megara in historical times affords evidence of a quintuple division. Except when their number was temporarily increased in honour of Demetrios Poliorketes, there were regularly five *strategoi* and five *demiourgoi* (*S. G. D. I.*, iii, 3003–10, 3030). "Indessen besteht doch ein grosser Unterschied zwischen Bezirken einer und derselben Polis und Landestheilen, die so von einander gesondert waren" (Busolt, *op. cit.*, p. 237).

For the geographical position of our districts see Bursian, *Geographie*, i, pp. 372 f. The Heraeis took their name from the temple of Hera Akraia, which stood on the triangular spur of Geraneia, which projects into the Corinthian Gulf. The temple, which was oracular, lay between Lechaeum and Pagae (Strabo, viii, 6, 22, 380). The Peiraeis lay to the east of the Heraeis, a border district on the southern slopes of Geraneia, which was early lost by Megara to Corinth. Both Peiraeus and the Heraeum figure prominently in Xenophon's account of Agesilaos's operations in the

[1] Τὴν Μεγαρικὴν δὲ κατέσχον καὶ τήν τε πόλιν ἔκτισαν τὰ Μέγαρα καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους Δωριέας ἀντὶ Ἰώνων ἐποιήσαν, Strabo, ix, 1, 7, 393; the Megarid was inhabited by Ionians, οὔπω τῶν Μεγάρων ἐκτισμένων, *ibid.*, ix, 1, 5, 392; τῶν δ' Ἡρακλειδῶν τοὺς Δωριέας καταγαγόντων, ὑφ' ὧν τά τε Μέγαρα ᾠκίσθη, ibid., xiv, 2, 6, 653. See also Busolt, *Die Lakedaimonier und ihre Bundesgenossen*, i, pp. 235 f.

Corinthian War (*Hell.* iv, 5), and it was from Heraeum that Antigonos thought of shipping his army across to Sicyon in the campaign against Cleomenes (Plutarch, *Cleomenes*, 20).

The Megareis presumably inhabited the plain round Megara, and the Tripodiskioi the north-east slopes of Geraneia. For the Kynosoureis the northern area up to Aegosthena is left.

It is perhaps some confirmation of the view that these divisions were pre-Dorian and very old, that in the Megarian reply to the Athenian interpolations in the Homeric *Catalogue*, these names are not employed. This Megarian riposte to Athenian propaganda gives Polichne (? = Megara), Aigeiroussa (see Question 59 below; geographically it corresponds most nearly with Heraeum), Nisaea, and Tripodes (= Tripodiskos).

The name Kunosoureis, it is true, has been used to support the post-Dorian dating, upon the ground that Kunosoureis is also the name of one of the local divisions at Sparta (Pausanias, vii, 16, 6). But Kunosoura is, after all, one of the commonest of Greek place-names (e. g. both Marathon and Salamis have a Kunosoura), and it figures as the name also both of an Arcadian canton and of an Argive perioecic district (see Busolt, *op. cit.*, p. 237). There is therefore nothing exclusively Spartan or Dorian about the name.

Tripodiskos is mentioned by Thucydides (iv, 70). There were a number of variant forms of the name, Tripodes, Tripodiskos, Tripodiskoi, Tripodiske, Tripodiskion For the story of its foundation by Koroibos or Krotopos see the references in Roscher, *Lexikon*, under these names, and Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. ii, pp. 536–7. Its name more probably suggests a centre of the propagation of the cult of Apollo than, as has been suggested, an attempt by the Dorians of the Peloponnese to set up a rival oracle to Delphi.

For the relations of Corinth and Megara see Question 18 below.

In the interpretation of δορύξενος the eighth edition of Liddell and Scott follows Plutarch; "a spear friend, properly, one who having been captive to one's spear becomes one's friend, then generally, a firm friend." This, however, is not quite the sense in which it is employed by the Attic tragedians, whose use implies rather "an ally in war" (e. g. Aeschylus, *Choephoroi*, 562; Sophocles, *Electra* 46; *Oedip. Col.* 630; Euripides, *Medea*, 687). In his note upon Sophocles, *Oedip. Col.* 630, Jebb points out that Plutarch's analogy of δοριαλώτος, δορίκτητος does not hold for tragic usage, in which the term is applied only to princes or chiefs with an armed force at their disposal.

The word was rather a favourite subject for disquisition by the commentators. Eustathius, *Il.*, p. 405, defines and distinguishes πρόξενοι, ἀστόξενοι, δορύξενοι and ἰδιόξενοι. δορύξενοι δὲ οἱ ἐκ πολέμου ξένοι γεγονότες τισίν. (Cf. Eustathius, *Il.*, p. 485, ὁ πολέμου χάριν ἢ ἐκ πολέμου φιλιωθεὶς ὡς Γλαῦκος καὶ Διομήδης. Suidas s. v. δορύξενος gives the second alternative and the same illustration.)

Pausanias, he continues, defined δορύξενος as ὁ ἐκ πολεμίων φίλος καὶ ὁ πρεσβεύων περὶ λύτρων εἰ ζωγρηθεῖεν τινές. This is quoted also by Suidas, *loc. cit.* Compare Hesychius, s. v. δορύξενος . . . οὓς ἐμπεδοῦντας τὰς ὁμολογίας φίλους ἐποιοῦντο καὶ προσηγόρευον δορυξένους, διὰ τὴν οἰκειότητα τῆς γενομένης πράξεως.

The chivalrous captor gave his prisoner of his salt and we may notice two proverbial uses of salt, which run right through Greek literature. (1) It typifies the minimum of charity or generosity.

> οὐ σύ γ' ἂν ἐξ οἴκου σῷ ἐπιστάτῃ οὐδ' ἅλα δοίης,
> ὃς νῦν ἀλλοτρίοισι παρήμενος οὔ τί μοι ἔτλης
> σίτου ἀποπροελὼν δόμεναι· τὰ δὲ πολλὰ πάρεστιν.

Homer, *Odyssey*, xvii, 455. Compare Theocritus xxvii, 60. (2) As here, the eating of salt constitutes a bond of guest friendship. Hence ἅλας συναναλῶσαι, Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 8, 1, 4, 1156 b; τῶν ἁλῶν συγκατεδηδοκέναι μέδιμνον, Kock, *Frag. Com. Adesp.*, 176; τοὺς ἅλας παραβαίνειν, Demosthenes, xix, 191. In this sense the phrase ἅλες καὶ τράπεζα is proverbial. For instance ὅρκον δ' ἐνοσφίθης μέγαν, ἅλας καὶ τράπεζαν, Archilochus, 96; ποῦ ἅλες; ποῦ τράπεζαι; Demosthenes, xix, 189; the crime of Paris is described in similar terms by Lykophron, *Alex.*, 133 f. In *Quaest. Conuiu.*, v, 1, 684 E f., Plutarch discusses the question τίνες οἱ περὶ ἅλα καὶ κύαμον of which there is a different, though probably wrong, explanation in Diogenian (see Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 254). The bond of salt is, of course, widely known outside ancient Greece. Examples will be found in Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 270, and *E. R. E.* s. v., Metals and Minerals, viii, p. 591.

Question 18

Q *What is palintokia (return of interest)?*

A. *After casting out the tyrant Theagenes, the Megarians for a short time enjoyed a conservative government. Then when the demagogues, in Plato's words, proffered abundant cups full of the unmixed wine of freedom, they became completely corrupted, and amongst other unbridled attacks upon the wealthy, the poor went to their houses and demanded to be feasted and to sup sumptuously. But if they met with refusal, they treated them all with violence and insult. At length they set up a law,[1] by which they took again from those who had lent money, the interest which they had already paid, calling the process palintokia.*

The source is probably Aristotle's *Constitution of the Megarians*

[1] The word δόγμα in the sense of a decree (e. g. a decree of the Amphictyons, Demosthenes, lxii, 4), and regularly so employed in inscriptions (e.g. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 630), is never used of an Athenian *psephisma*.

see Question 16 above. Clearly its sympathies were oligarchic. Question 59 is indubitably from the same source.

The passage of Plato, to which allusion is made, occurs in *Republic*, viii, 562 D. A famous metaphor, it became a commonplace with later writers, e. g. 'insolenter et immodice abuti Thessalos indulgentia populi Romani, uelut ex diutina siti nimis auide meram haurientes libertatem', Livy, xxxix, 26.

Busolt (*Die Lakedaimonier*, p. 285) rightly points out that the phrase ἐσωφρόνησαν κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν does not in the least imply, as several German historians assume, "ein mildes Regiment". It is simply the technical term, which would naturally be employed by a writer of oligarchic sympathies, for a conservative government.

The view has been adopted above that Question 17 refers to pre-Dorian Megara. At the Dorian conquest the native population was evidently reduced to the status of serfdom (Theognis, 55, see above, p. 39), a fate which may have sown the seeds of the extreme bitterness which later characterized Megarian party strife. The relations of Dorian Megara to Corinth are represented by tradition as being those of uneasy and unwilling subordination (Schol. Plato, *Euthyd.*, 292 ; Schol. Pindar, *Nem.*, vii, 155 ; Schol. Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 442, and the comments of lexicographers and paroemiographers on Μεγαρέων δάκρυα and Διὸς Κόρινθος).

If we are wrong in supposing Question 17 to relate to pre-Dorian times, it is to this period that it must be referred.

As the power of Corinth under the degenerate Bacchiads declined, Megara gained independence. Pausanias (vi, 19, 3), knows traditions of a successful war against Corinth of indeterminate antiquity, and the name of the athlete Orsippos (*floruit* 720 B. C.) is connected with a war of independence (Pausanias, i, 44, 1). The circumstances of the closing years of the eighth century, indeed, were giving Megara a real importance, which she enjoyed for a little over a century. A small over-populated state, she early participated in the colonial movement, and, as the mother of important colonies in the West and, above all, in the area of Pontic trade, her commercial development placed her for a time among states of the first rank. For Megara in the seventh and sixth centuries see Trever, "Economic and Political Conditions in Megara," *C. P.*, xx, pp. 115–32. But the bitterness of her party struggles and frequent revolutions were her undoing. In the fifth century her internal troubles were fomented by external powers. Not only did she lie upon the frontier between the Peloponnese and Attica, but the advantages of her geographical position across the Isthmus with a port on either sea made the control of Megara a matter of vital interest to the two great groups of Greek states. Megarian history is epitomized by Strabo (ix, 1, 8, 393) πολλαῖς δὲ κέχρηται μεταβολαῖς ἡ τῶν Μεγαρέων πόλις, συμμένει δ' ὅμως μέχρι νῦν.

The rise of the tyranny has no doubt been rightly attributed to the change in Megarian circumstance during the second half of the eighth century and the first half of the seventh. From commercial expansion the noble merchant princes had no doubt been the first to profit, but here, as elsewhere, the ultimate influence of colonial expansion and increasing maritime trade was democratic in tendency. About Theagenes very little is known His fall is usually dated somewhere about the year 600 B.C., and the probabilities would suggest that it took place before rather than after this date. Kylon won his Olympic victory in 640; his attempted *coup d'état* is probably to be dated in the thirties of the century; he was already at that time son-in-law of the tyrant Theagenes, who provided him with military support (Thucydides, i, 126). It has been conjectured that Kylon's failure and the consequent war with Athens contributed to the decline of the prestige of the Megarian tyrant and his ultimate fall. Of his rise to power we can only say that it must have preceded the affair of Kylon. Aristotle tells us that, like Peisistratos, he persuaded the people to give him a bodyguard, which he then used to seize the royal power (*Rhet.*, 1, 2, 7, 1357 b), and describes how he slaughtered the cattle of the rich nobles in the pastures by the river-side (*Politics*, v, 5, 9, 1305 a). From Pausanias (i, 40, 1, i, 41, 2) we know of the water-supply with which he provided Megara. These items of information exhaust the known facts.

If, as Mr. Harrison (*Studies in Theognis*) would have us believe, the political elegies of Theognis are all from the hand of the same writer, whose *terminus ad quem* is fixed by Xerxes' invasion of Greece, the short time here allotted to the conservative régime must in fact have lasted a number of years. The problems, however, connected with the authorship and dating of the poems are so obscure that not much importance attaches to arguments based upon a particular view with regard to them. But we shall, in my opinion, be safe in considering their content as a true reflection of the intensity of party strife in the sixth century.[1] It is unfortunate that the references to Megarian revolutions in Aristotle's *Politics* are not dated. "Much in the same way the democracy at Megara was overturned; there the demagogues drove out the notables in order that they might be able to confiscate their property. At length the exiles becoming numerous, returned, and engaging and defeating the people established an oligarchy" (*Politics*, v, 5, 4, 1304 b; cf. *Politics*, v, 3, 5, 1302 b). In the restored oligarchy only those were eligible for magistracies "who had returned from exile and fought against the democracy" (*Politics*,

[1] Glotz and Cohen (*Histoire grecque*, i, p. 329) have joined Beloch and Unger in assigning the political elegies to Megara Hyblaea in Sicily. But both the evidence and general opinion is in favour of the view that these poems are concerned with Megara in Greece. See Harrison, *op. cit.*, pp. 268–305; Trever, *op. cit.*, pp. 128–9.

iv, 15, 15, 1300 a). The extreme democracy, which thus evoked Nemesis, would chime well with that described in our text (this view is taken by Trever, *op. cit.*, p. 127), but the financial policy of the democratic left, which is normally based upon confiscation, and the bitter animus of returned exiles are not peculiar to any one period. It is possible, therefore, that Cauer (*op. cit.*, p. 36) may be right in referring the passages in Aristotle to a later century than that envisaged in our text.

The oligarchic bias of our authority is clearly demonstrated by his handling of *palintokia*, a measure which in Question 59 he goes so far as to couple with sacrilege. But throughout the ancient world the political problem of the insolvent debtor became urgent at a certain rather primitive stage of economic development. It was aggravated by the harsh character of the early laws of debt, and the feeling, which is often noticeable in primitive societies (e. g. among the Hebrews, *Psalm* xv (xiv) 5 and, as Professor Rose points out to me, adopted from them by Christians, e. g. Cyprian, *Testim.*, iii, 48; Augustine, *de baptismo*, iv, 12, 18), that interest is an unnatural birth and therefore wrong, a view from which Greek economic theory never wholly freed itself. "To appreciate correctly such a demand", writes Grote (*History of Greece*, 1869, iii, p. 44), "we must recollect that the practice of taking interest for money lent was regarded by a large proportion of early ancient society with feelings of unqualified reprobation. And it will be seen, when we come to the legislation of Solon, how much such violent reactionary feeling against the creditor was provoked by the antecedent working of the harsh law determining his rights." Indeed, the cancellation of debt and the redistribution of property regularly appeared in the programme of revolutionaries of the left wing down to the end of the Roman Republic. Quite moderate reformers made adjustments by legalizing the deduction of interest, which had already been paid, from the principal owed by the debtor. This, for example, appears to have been one of the provisions in the Licinian Laws at Rome. The Megarian debtors, if I understand Plutarch rightly, went a little further than this and demanded the return in cash of interest, which they had already paid.

Question 19

Q. *Which is the Anthedon about which the Pythia said,*

'Drink wine full of lees, since thou dwellest not at Anthedon'?
For the Boeotian Anthedon is not rich in wine.

A. *Kalauria was anciently named Eirene from the woman Eirene, who according to the mythologists was the*

daughter of Poseidon and Melantheia, the daughter of Alpheios. But afterwards, when the companions of Anthes and Hyperes settled there, they called the island Anthedonia and Hypereia. But the oracle ran thus, as Aristotle says:

'Drink wine full of lees, since thou dwellest not at Anthedon.
Nor at holy Hypera, where indeed thou wouldest drink wine without lees.'

This is Aristotle's version. But Mnasigeiton says that Anthos, who was the brother of Hypere, was lost while still an infant, and Hypere, wandering in search of him, came to Pherae to the court of Akastos, where it chanced that Anthos was employed as a slave cup-bearer. When, therefore, they were at the feast, the boy, offering the cup to his sister, recognized her and said to her softly,

'Drink wine full of lees, since thou dwellest not at Anthedon.'

The source of the first half of this question is Aristotle, *Constitution of the Troizenians*, Rose, *Frag.* 555. One might have suspected that the second story was drawn from Mnaseas of Patras, who wrote a treatise upon oracles, but it would be hazardous to postulate a corruption, when a Mnesigeiton is known to have existed. Nothing more is known of him than that he is cited once by Pliny, *N. H.*, vii, 56 (57), 207, as authority for the statement that the Salaminians invented the quinquereme. See Müller, *F. H. G.*, iii, p. 158.

Plutarch's statement about Boeotian Anthedon is in disagreement with that of Dicaearchus, *Frag.* 59, 23; Müller, *F. H. G.*, ii, p. 259 *αὕτη δὲ εὔοινος, εὔοψος, σίτων σπανίζουσα διὰ τὸ τὴν χώραν εἶναι λυπράν.* But either one of two alternatives may explain the discrepancy. (1) In Plutarch's day viticulture may have declined in Boeotian Anthedon, which was always primarily a fishing village, as agriculture had decayed in Euboea to judge from Dio's *Euboicus*. (2) Plutarch may mean no more than that Boeotian Anthedon was not especially famous for its wine.

The oracle is connected with two special vintages, Anthedonias and Hyperias,[1] which Athenaeus assures us, on the authority of Aristotle (and he quotes the oracle), were so named after a certain Anthes and Hyperes, just as Althephias was named after a certain Althephios, one of the descendants of Alpheios[2]

[1] Cf. Suidas s. v. *ὑπερίας· οἶνος ἀπὸ Ὑπέρου.*

[2] Althephias, however, like the other two wines, must be connected with Troizen. Althepos, the son of Poseidon and Leis, was a pre-historic king of Troizen (Pausanias, ii, 30, 5). The name occurs in the genealogy of the Antheads (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 1020) and as a place-name, *τὰ χώρια τὰ ἐν Ἀλθήφωι*, in Troizen (*I. G.*, iv, 1473, l. 26).

(Athenaeus, i, 56, 31 c). The context suggests some connexion between these wines and a Syracusan wine, which took its name from Pollis, alternatively a native king of Syracuse or an Argive, who in one account brought the particular vine to Sicily from Thrace (Athenaeus, *loc. cit.*; Aelian, *V. H.*, xii, 31; Pollux, vi, 17; Hippys, *Frag.* 7; Müller, *F. H. G.*, ii, p. 15; *Et. Mag.* s. v. Βίβλινος οἶνος, p. 197, 32, Gaisford).

Turning to the stories told in explanation of the oracle we may first dispose of Mnasigeiton. The romantic story has an Alexandrine ring, and the reason for the feminine Hypere and the setting of the scene at Pherae is not obscure. The mention of the fountain Hypereia in the *Catalogue* raised problems for Strabo and others as regards Homeric geography. But though there was another Hypereia even in Thessaly, at Pharsalos, the most famous fountain of that name was at Pherae.

ὦ γῆ Φεραία, χαῖρε, σύγγονόν θ' ὕδωρ
Ὑπέρεια κρήνη, νᾶμα θεοφιλέστατον,

Sophocles, *Frag.* 911, Pearson-Jebb. Cf. Pindar, *Pyth.*, iv, 221 and Scholia; Strabo, ix, 18, 439. According to Pherekydes (Jacoby, *F. H. G.*, *Frag.* 101) the spring was named after Hyperes, the son of Phrixos and Eurykleia, but the more usual, and presumably the local, account attributed the name to an eponymous nymph, who is figured upon the coins of Pherae (Head, *H. N.*, p. 397). Confusion with this nymph is no doubt the origin of our tale of Hypere

Pfister (*Reliquienkult*, i, pp. 56–7) draws attention to Antheia as a Thessalian place-name (Hesiod, *Scut.*, 381), Dionysos Antheus, the district Antheia and the hero Antheias at Patrai, where he also detects Thessalian influence, in connexion with our Troizenian names, and uses them as evidence of prehistoric connexions of race and cult. His speculations, however, have little solid foundation, for "Place of Flowers" and "High or Upper Place" are such likely names in themselves that they might well occur independently anywhere.

Coming back to Aristotle's version, Kalauria (for which see especially Strabo, viii, 14, 373–4; Pausanias, ii, 33; for the excavation of the site *Athenische Mitteilungen*, xx, 1895, pp. 297 f.; for the possibility of a continuity of cult from the Bronze Age Nilsson, *M. M. R.*, p. 404) is the modern Poros, an island off Troizen. It was famous in antiquity for the cult of Poseidon, whose temple, served by a priestess, who had not yet reached marriageable age, stood upon the island. The god was said to have exchanged Delos with Leto for Kalauria and Pytho with Apollo for Taenarum, whence the oracle, which is quoted by Pausanias and Strabo from Ephoros,

"It is as good to dwell in Delos as in Kalauria
And in holy Pytho as in windy Taenarum."

This cult of Poseidon was the centre of an Amphictyony, the traditional antiquity of which is confirmed by its constitution. For the original members were Hermione, Prasiae, Epidauros, Aigina, Athens, Nauplia, and Boeotian Orchomenos. The cult centre itself retained rights of asylum, which were respected even by the Macedonian kings.[1]

The name Eirene, which is attested as an alternative name for Kalauria by the lexicographers, may have arisen from the sacred truce during the meetings of the Amphictyony. The woman Eirene is certainly a fictitious eponym. There seems to have been some confusion between Kalauria in the Saronic Gulf and other small islands, named either Kalauria or Eirene or both, in the Gulf of Argos or in the Cyclades or off Crete. Whether the true facts behind this muddle on the part of ancient geographers can now be disentangled is doubtful: fortunately it is also immaterial. According to Aristotle's account the name Kalauria was presumably subsequent to the Pelopid occupation of Troizen. The name was currently derived from Kalauros, the son of Poseidon, a fictitious eponym. Before the Pelopid occupation the followers of Anthes and Hyperes, whom the language implies to have been immigrants, had named it Anthedonia and Hypereia. The account in Pausanias, ii, 30, 8–9, is rather different. Hyperes and Anthas, regarded apparently as local worthies, were the sons of Poseidon and Alkyone the Atlantid, and the founders of Hypereia and Anthea. Aetios, the son of Anthas, succeeded to both towns. He was joined by the Pelopids, Troizen, and Pittheus, and the three reigned jointly, though the Pelopid princes assumed the greater importance. When Troizen died, Pittheus united Hypereia and Anthea into one state, which he named after his brother. Many years afterwards the descendants of Aetios, the son of Anthas, founded Halikarnassos and Myndos. Strabo (viii, 14, 374) differs in making the Pelopids expel Anthes (ὁ προκατέχων), who thereupon sailed away and founded Halikarnassos (cf. Strabo, xiv, 16, 656). Anthes is the founder of Halikarnassos in Steph. Byz. s. v. Ἁλικαρνασσός, and Antheadae was a poetical synonym for Halikarnassians (Steph. Byz. s. v. Ἀθῆναι). The Antheadae were further a class of hereditary priests of Poseidon in Halikarnassos (*C. I. G.*, 2655).

Boeotian Anthedon was said to owe its name either to an eponymous nymph or to Anthas, son of Poseidon and Alkyone (Pausanias, ix, 22, 5). Herakleides (*ap.* Plutarch, *de mus.*, 3), puts Anthes from Boeotian Anthedon in the same category as Linos,

[1] Similar asyla are known in Arcadia (Athena Alea at Tegea, Zeus Lykaios at Megalopolis), Phlius (Ganymede), Akraiphia (Apollo Ptoios), Samothrace (Kabeiroi, in Hellenistic times). There were numbers of asyla in Hellenistic Asia. See Stengel, *Gr. Kultusaltertümer*, pp. 30–1, and in *P. W.*, i, pp. 1881–6. To his references add Hermione (Demeter and Kore), Aristophanes, *Frag.* 87, Kock.

Amphion, &c. Alternative suggestions for the origin of the name of the Boeotian town were to make Anthedon a grandson of Anthes, the son of Poseidon and Alke (Steph. Byz. Ἀνθηδών) or the husband of Alkyone (the mother of our Troizenian Anthes), and father by her of Glaukos Pontios, the true patron saint of Boeotian Anthedon (Mnaseas *ap.* Athenaeus, vii, 47, 296 B).

A good many far-reaching theories have been based upon the distribution of the Anthos—Anthas—Antheus types of name. At Troizen, in addition to the legendary matter discussed above, the occurrence of the proper names Antheus and Anthedo (*I. G.*, iv, 757 B, 40, 818) may be noticed. At Halikarnassos we have the proper name Antheus (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 1044), a place-name Anthos (*Ancient Inscriptions in British Museum*, iv, 896), Antheus as a name belonging to the royal family (Parthenius, *Narr. Am.*, xiv), and in the Anthead genealogy the names Hyperes, Alkyoneus, Anthes, and Althephos (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 1020, and see further Toepffer in *P. W.* 1, pp. 2358–60). Here no doubt there is a real connexion, since the colonists took with them these Troizenian names.

Whether there is any true connexion between Troizen and Boeotian Anthedon is more difficult to decide. In favour of such a view is the month *Geraistios*, attested for Troizen and Kalauria, which is derived from the cult of Poseidon Geraistios, who takes his name from the promontory in Euboea. The Geraistian cape lies on the borders of the Euboean Dryopes, and the people of Hermione were said to be Dryopians from Euboea. Further, we may notice in the Anthead genealogy that the name Hyrieus shows the intrusion of a Boeotian element (from Hyrieus son of Poseidon and Alkyone). It is, therefore, possible that there is here some real connexion.

But for reasons already indicated (p. 104 above) wide generalizations based upon the distribution of the Anthos names rest upon insecure foundations and in particular as against Pfister's view (*op. cit.*, 1, p. 57) that Anthos, Antheus, Anthas represent a Dionysiac hero, who may be connected with the cult titles Anthos and Euanthes, it may be pointed out that at Troizen and Halikarnassos the Anthos names are not in any way connected with Dionysos but upon the contrary with Poseidon Phutalmios.

The view that Anthos, Anthes, Antheus, &c. are hieratic in character and belong to a figure analogous to Hylas, Linos, or Hyakinthos (see Stoll in Roscher, *Lex.*, i, pp. 319–20) is not improbable.

Question 20

Q. *What is the meaning of the Prienian saying "the darkness by the oak"?*

A. *The Samians and the Prienians were at war and did*

each other moderate damage until, a great battle taking place, the Prienians slew a thousand Samians. But in the seventh year after that, fighting with the Milesians at the place called the Oak, they lost in one battle their best and foremost citizens. This was the time when Bias the sage earned glory, when sent upon an embassy from Priene to Samos.

This was a tragic experience and pitiful misfortune to the women of Priene, and they established it as a most solemn curse and oath to swear by 'the darkness of the oak', on account of their sons, fathers, and husbands having been slaughtered there.

The source of this question may be regarded as established by the explicit citation of Aristotle, *Constitution of the Samians*, by Zenobius for the story of the Battle by the Oak and the curse to which it gave rise. See Aristotle, *Frag.* 634, Rose; Giessen, *op. cit.*, p. 453.

The quarrels of Samos, Miletus, and Priene run right through Greek history, and the outbreak of the Samian revolt in 440 B.C. was directly occasioned, it will be remembered, by Athenian attempts to settle a dispute between Samos and Miletus over Priene (Thucydides, i, 115). The Battle of the Oak, in which the Milesians were allied with the Samians against Priene, and the subsequent arrangement which was effected by Bias, one of the Seven Sages and the author of the celebrated advice to the Ionian Greeks to flee from the advance of Persia and find a new home in Sardinia (Herodotus, i, 170), figure in one of the most protracted territorial disputes in the history of Greek international arbitration.

The matter of dispute was a border territory called Dryussa and a fort Carium in it. The rival claims of Samos and Priene in respect of this area were submitted successively to Alexander, Philip Arrhidaeus, Antigonus, Lysimachus, Antiochus Theos, and Antiochus the general of Ptolemy III, Euergetes. In the early part of the third century B.C. a commission of Rhodian arbitrators made a definite award and delimited the frontier with boundary stones. The question was raised again with the Romans, but the award of the Rhodians was upheld by two Senatus Consulta of the latter half of the second century B.C. and by a report of (Mylasian?) arbitrators appointed in accordance with a S. C. at some date after 133 B.C.

References to these inscriptions will be found in Tod, *Greek International Arbitration*, Nos. lxi–lxv, pp. 41–3. The two documents of primary importance are a rescript of Lysimachus addressed to the Council and People of Samos (Dittenberger, *O. G. I. S.*, 13) and an inscription recording the award of the Rhodian commission

(*S. G. D. I.*, 3758). The contents of these inscriptions are discussed in Tod, *op. cit.*, pp. 135–40.

It could not be disputed that since Carium had been used as a fortress by Prienian exiles for the overthrow of the tyrant Hiero, Priene had in fact exercised rights of ownership, but the Samians raised claims to original ownership as attested by historians and treaties going back to the seventh century B.C. According to the Samian claim the territory in dispute had originally formed part of the spoils of the Meliac War waged in common with the Prienians, and had been assigned to Samos at its conclusion. In the settlement effected by Bias after the Battle at the Oak the territory, they claimed, had remained Samian, for the boundary of Bias followed the watershed (*S. G. D. I.*, 3758, ll. 106 f. *μετὰ δὲ τὰν παράταξιν τὰν γενομέναν αὐτοῖς ποτὶ Πριανεῖς ἐπὶ Δρυῖ καὶ νίκας κρίσιν ἔχειν καὶ ταύταν τὰν χώραν ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις αὐτῶν γενέσθαι, ὀρέξασθαι γὰρ ποτ' αὐτοὺς ὡς ὑδάτων ῥοαῖ*). The Prienians, on the other hand, maintained that their effective occupation of the territory had been uninterrupted since the Meliac War, except for an interlude during the Cimmerian raids, and that their rights had been recognized in the treaty arranged by Bias (*O. G. I. S.*, 13, ll. 22 f.). The truce of six years which preceded the Battle at the Oak seems also to have been quoted.[1]

In the rescript of Lysimachus the Samian case and the king's award is unfortunately missing, but Lysimachus seems to have been impressed by the historical authorities quoted by the Samians and to have decided in their favour. The Rhodians, however, decided for the Prienians. Their grounds were that the historical evidence did not bear close examination, and the only authority which supported the Samian claim was Maeandrius of Miletus, the authenticity of whose history was disputable.

The use of the word *σκότος* in this proverbial phrase is remarkable. It would be tempting to link it with the modern Greek *σκοτώνω*, 'I kill', but I cannot trace this word in classical Greek. More probable is the connexion with poetical uses of the word. In the *Iliad* *σκότος* is always used of the darkness of death, and in the tragedians such phrases as *σκότον νέμονται Τάρταρόν τε* (Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, 72), or *τὸν ἀεὶ κατὰ γᾶς σκότον εἱμένος* (Sophocles, *Oed. Col.*, 1701) are frequent.

Question 21

Q. *Who are called 'burners' among the Cretans?*

A. *They say that the Tyrrhenians, who seized the daughters and wives of the Athenians from Brauron, what time they dwelt in Lemnos and Imbros, were afterwards*

[1] *Ἔκ τε τῶν ἱστοριῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων μαρτυρίων καὶ δικαιωμάτων μετὰ τῶν ἐξετῶν σπονδῶν.* This last is connected by Dittenberger (*loc. cit.*) with the six years' interval between the Prienian victory and the Battle at the Oak.

*expelled, arrived at Laconia and mingled with the population, even so far as to beget children on the native women. But owing to suspicion and calumny they were again compelled to leave Laconia, and with their children and wives put in at Crete, having Pollis and Delphos for leaders. There they waged war with the possessors of Crete, and they allowed many of those who had died in battle to remain unburied, in the first place because they had no leisure to bury them because of the war and the danger that they were in, and afterwards because they shrank from touching corpses, which had been corrupted by time and had decomposed. Pollis, therefore, devised certain honours and privileges and immunities to confer upon the priests of the gods, and others upon those who buried the dead, consecrating these also to the underworld powers, in order that they might be inalienable in perpetuity. *And the former were called priests and the latter 'burners'.*

**Then Pollis made a division with Delphos by lot. And they had separate and independent communities, but amongst other humane provisions they enjoyed also freedom from the crimes of stealthy plunder and rapine, which the Cretans are accustomed to practise at each other's expense. For to them they do no injury nor steal from them nor rob them.*

Question 53 also deals with Crete and may be derived from the same source. Of what this may be there is no indication. Aristotle published a *Constitution of the Cretans* (Rose, *Frags.* 475–6; see also Müller, *F.H.G.*, ii, p. 131, for references to *Politics*). Of the other known writers of local histories of Crete Dosiades, Echemenes, Laosthenidas, Petellides of Knossos, Pyrgion, Sosicrates, and Xenion are nowhere cited by Plutarch. Alexander Polyhistor, who is quoted in other connexions in *de mus.*, 5, 1132 F and *Quaest. Rom.*, 104, wrote Κρητικά, and the similarly named treatise of Antenor is quoted in *de mal. Herod.*, 22. Istros, whose ὑπομνήματα are quoted in Question 43, wrote a συναγωγὴ τῶν Κρητικῶν θυσιῶν (*F. H. G.*, Müller, i, p. 424, *Frag.* 47). Of the Κρητικά of Charon of Lampsakos we know only that they discussed the laws of Minos (*F. H. G.*, Müller, i, p. xvi).

I have transposed the two sentences marked *. The Greek would otherwise imply that the *hiereis* and *katakautai*, a distinction between the service of Olympian and underworld powers not unlike that at Opous in Question 6, formed two independent political communities under Pollis and Delphos respectively. Such hieratic political communities would be without parallel in Greek history. The two Cretan states, which are intended, may be thought to be either Lyttos and Chersonesos or possibly

Lyttos and Gortyn. With both these alternatives this expedition has been connected by different versions of the story.

We are concerned with two tendencious legends, which had already been linked together in the time of Herodotus. The first, the narrative of the Lemnian raid upon Attica, is concerned with the justification of the Athenian claim to the occupation of Lemnos; the second, the story of the Pelasgian-Minyans in Laconia, explained the Spartan connexion with the Dorians of Thera, Melos, and Crete. See Herodotus, vi, 137 f., iv, 145 f.; Plutarch, *de uirt. mul.*, 8, 247; Konon, *Narr.*, 36 and 47. Polyaenus, vii, 49, and viii, 71 contain the first part of the story of the Pelasgians in Laconia.

The Pelasgians of Lemnos were said to have formed part of the original population of Attica, where the 'Pelasgic wall' was their handiwork. They were expelled by the Athenians and seized Lemnos. In revenge they raided Brauron, while the Athenian women were celebrating the festival, and carried them off. This incident of taking advantage of a religious festival for the purpose of a surprise attack, of which a probably apocryphal example is the incident in the war between Megara and Athens (Plutarch, *Solon*, 8), is not without genuine historical parallels. The Spartans seized the Theban citadel in 383 B. C. during the celebration of the *Thesmophoria*, a festival of which the Gauls are said to have taken similar advantage at Miletus (Parthenius, *Narr. Am.*, vii). The most famous instance is the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey, see Josephus, *Ant.*, xiv, 4, 3. The fate of the Chian fugitives after Lade (Herodotus, vi, 16) confirms the frequency of raids to carry off women. See further Ormerod, *Piracy in the Ancient World*, pp. 36–7.

According to Herodotus the offspring of the Athenian women who were thus carried off showed unmistakably the qualities of their superior lineage and were consequently massacred. A curse fell upon Lemnos, and to make amends the Pelasgians made their celebrated promise to surrender the island, when Athenians sailed to it from their own territory with a north wind. The Lemnians of Laconia, in the version of Herodotus, were the sons of the Argonauts, who had been expelled from Lemnos in the fourth generation after Jason's visit by the Pelasgians from Attica. They claimed through the Tyndarids, who had sailed with the Argo, ancestral kinship with the Spartans. They were given a share in the polity, but claimed complete equality, including a share in the monarchy. They were imprisoned, but were enabled to escape by the ruse of their wives, who obtained permission to visit them, changed clothes with them and took their places, and then established themselves on Taygetus. Eventually they emigrated, some to Triphylia and a minority with Theras to Thera.

In Plutarch (*de uirt. mul.*, 8) the Lemnian refugees in Laconia are the sons of the Athenian women from Brauron, who had been

expelled from the island as *mixobarbaroi* by the Athenians. Hence their Cretan descendants claimed to be colonists of Sparta, but partly Athenian by blood. Presumably this version belongs to popular Athenian propaganda. The date implied for the Athenian capture of Lemnos is also the invention of patriotism uninformed.

In Konon, 36, the Lemnians were settled by Philonomos at Amyclae immediately after the Dorian conquest of Laconia. In the third generation they revolted, emigrated, and colonized Melos and Gortyn in Crete. Konon, 47, synchronizes this movement, in the third generation after the return of the Heraclids, with the colonization of East Crete and Rhodes by Althaimenes and the settlement of Ionia by the Athenians.

The stories of the Pelasgians in Attica and Laconia have been so much manipulated that it is impossible to discern fact from fiction, and though details of them have often been pressed to support particular historical or ethnographical theories, their evidence is so uncertain in its authenticity as to be without value.

As regards the narrative of the settlement in Crete, both here and in Plutarch, *de uirt. mul.*, the ἀδελφός of the MSS. has been corrected to Delphos from Konon. The leaders were Pollis, Delphos, and Krataidas, all themselves Spartans. After detaching a settlement at Melos the expedition was alternatively declared to have founded Gortyn or Lyttos. The place-name Amyklaion in Crete (Steph. Byz., Ἀμύκλαι) is perhaps connected with the version, which brings the Pelasgians from Amyclae. Upon what grounds I do not know, Bursian places this Cretan Amyklaion in Gortynian territory,

Lyttos, which claimed a Spartan origin (Aristotle, *Politics*, ii, 10, 1271 b), is the principal site colonized by Pollis in Plutarch, *de uirt. mul.* An oracle bade him plant his colony where the expedition lost the goddess and the anchor. This happened at Chersonesos, where the *xoanon* of Artemis, which had been brought from Brauron to Lemnos in the original raid, thence to Laconia and now to Crete, was left ashore in a nocturnal panic. Chersonesos, though about three and half hours from Lyttos, served as the port of the more important town. The origin of the story of the *xoanon* at the Cretan end lies, no doubt, in the local cult of Britomartis at Chersonesos (Strabo, x, 4, 14, 479).

We can, perhaps, detect three motives which have gone to the making of these stories. The first is no doubt the claim that the image of Britomartis at Chersonesos was the true and original Tauric Artemis, a claim which was very frequently made for antique cult statues of a goddess.[1] The spreading of this to a

[1] See Pfister, *Reliquienkult*, i, pp. 344-5; Robert, *Held.*, pp. 1333-4; examples of such claims are Orthia at Sparta, the Lydian Anaitis, Ma at Cappadocian Comana, and statues at Kastabala, Pontic Comana, Rhodes,

very general fashion of laying claim to the possession of the original Tauric Artemis or the Palladium of Troy is relatively late, a product of Hellenistic antiquarianism.

Secondly, if Britomartis was the Tauric Artemis she must have come from Sparta, since the Spartans colonized Chersonesos. Here, thirdly, the Laconian Pelasgians come to the aid of Athenian propaganda. The Pelasgians must have acquired it from the ancient shrine at Brauron.

Question 22

Q. *What is the tomb of the children among the Chalkidians?*

A. *Kothos and Aiklos, the sons of Xouthos, came to Euboea to settle it, the Aeolians then being in possession of the greater part of the island. Now Kothos had received an oracle that he would prosper and would overcome his enemies, if he bought the land. Disembarking, then, with a few followers, he met some little children playing by the sea-side. He therefore played with them and kindly showed them many playthings from foreign parts. Now when he saw that the children longed to take these, he refused to give them to them unless he was given earth by them. The children just picked some up off the ground and gave it to him, received the toys and went away.*

But the Aeolians, perceiving what had happened and being attacked by the enemies' fleet, from anger and grief dispatched the children. And they buried them beside the road by which men go from the city to the Euripus, and the place is called "the tomb of the children".

The problem of the source of this Question is bound up with that of Question 33. The grave of the children, the *aition* of the Pursophion, and the story of the statue of Kleomachos at Chalkis (Plutarch, *Amatorius*, 17) may be suspected of coming from the same source. For the last Plutarch specifically quotes Aristotle, and the passage is included by Müller (*F. H. G.*, ii, p. 141) among the fragments of the *Constitution of the Chalkidians*. Rose (Aristotle, *Frag.* 93) prefers to attribute it to Aristotle, *Erotikos*. It may have occurred in both works of Aristotle.

Of other possible sources nothing virtually is known of Aristotle of Chalkis who wrote a περὶ Εὐβοίας and who Müller (*F. H. G.*, ii, p. 142) thinks may have been the author of the *Peplos*, nor of a Suidas, who is known to Strabo, and was said to have written on Chalkidian affairs in addition to his treatise on Thessaly (see Müller, *F. H. G.*, ii, p. 465). A citation from Archemachos of

Patmos, Aricia. Very similar were the claims to possess the original Palladium from Troy, for which see below, p. 193.

Euboea, though not from his *Euboica*, occurs in Plutarch, *de Is. et Os.*, 27, 361 F.

The early connexion between Attica and Euboea is well attested by the evidence of genealogical tradition, some of which is undoubtedly old. Metion, the eponym of the Attic Metionidae, appears at the head of the Euboean line of Chalkon, Abas, Chalkodon, and Elephenor. The last named took the sons of Theseus with him to Troy. Chalkodon was worshipped in Athens. Chalkiope, alternatively the daughter of Chalkodon and wife of Aigeus, or daughter of the Erechtheid Alkon, supplies another link. The Gephyraeans in Aphidna, the grave of Chalkodon, who was killed by Amphitryon at Teumessus, the relations between Elephenor and Poimandros of Tanagra in Question 37 confirm the other traditions, which point to a lively intercourse, friendly and hostile, to and fro across the Euripus between Attica and Euboea via Tanagra and the mouth of the Asopos. (On this see Toepffer, *Att. Gen.*, pp. 163, 164, 293 f., where the appropriate references will be found.) The interests of historical Athens in Euboea helped, no doubt, to perpetuate and perhaps to emphasize this legendary connexion.

That Chalkis and Eretria were founded by the Athenians before the Trojan War (Strabo, x, 1, 7, 447) may well be an invention of Athenian propaganda. In Homer the Abantes held Euboea. Chalkis and Eretria, however, were generally regarded as Athenian foundations, though of post-Homeric date. Aiklos founded Eretria and Kothos Chalkis, while some of the Aeolian followers of Penthilos remained in the island (Strabo, *loc. cit.*). Ellops, the founder of Ellopia, was variously said to have been a son of Ion or a brother of Aiklos and Kothos (Strabo, x, 1, 3, 445). [Scymnus], 573 foll., makes Pandoros, son of Erechtheus, the founder of Chalkis, Aiklos of Eretria, and Kothos of Kerinthos.

The names Aiklos and Kothos are quoted by Strabo, along with Kekrops and others, as examples to show that the aboriginal stratum of the population of Greece was non-Greek (Strabo, vii, 7, 1, 321), but though they belonged to the immigrant family of Ion, they ranked as true Athenians. Penthilos was the son of Orestes and the chief leader of the Aeolic migration, which was said to have taken place 60 years after the Trojan War, and to have synchronized with the Return of the Heraclids (Strabo, xiii, 1, 3, 582). The main version, then, which is followed by Plutarch and Strabo, supposes that the Abantes were in possession of Homeric Euboea, that after the Trojan War and in connexion with the Aeolic migrations from Boeotia, the island was occupied by Aeolians, and then finally came the Athenians under Aiklos and Kothos.

The *traditio per terram* has been discussed above in the notes to Question 13 (p. 76), and a further example will be found below (p. 151) in the notes to Question 35.

That any cult was paid to these children is not stated by Plutarch, and it is possible that 'the tomb of the children' is only a place-name. But that there was a cult is a general and a probable assumption. Nor would this be an isolated example of the worship of child heroes or child deities, though the data relating to such cults are very obscure and were obscure to the Greeks themselves.

Such heroized children seem often to have been identified with the Dioskouroi or with Kouretes, Korybantes, or Idaean Dactyls, or, the most popular identification of all after the third century B. C., with the Kabeiroi. For our purposes here we may leave out of account the worship of single child heroes such as Opheltes-Archemoros, Melikertes-Palaimon, Sosipolis or the Παῖς Ἥρως of Aigina (*I. G.*, iv, 13) and confine ourselves to the worship of groups of children.

At Pephnus (Pausanias, iii, 26, 3) and at Brasiai (Paus., ii, 25, 5) Pausanias saw dwarf cult figures about a foot high with peaked caps upon their heads, which he was uncertain whether to identify with Korybantes or Dioskouroi. At Patrai a triad of boy figures was worshipped, to which the names of Patreus and his two sons Preugenes and Atherion had become attached, although the statues represented all three as young boys (Paus., viii, 20, 7). Terra-cotta figures representing infants with peaked caps and associated in some cases with what appears to be an Eileithyia or female deity of childbirth have been found in the Peloponnese. The heroes at Patrai seem to have been associated with Artemis and those of Brasiai with Athena, and it may be thought, with Nilsson, that there was a tendency to associate these child spirits with a mother.[1] That perhaps may explain the legendary parentage of the best known of these groups of children, the children of Medea in Corinth, who, in the older version of the story, were slain by the Corinthians (Paus., ii, 3, 6 f.; Schol. Eur., *Med.*, 264; Apollodorus, i, 9, 28; Aelian, *V. H.*, v, 21; Philostratus, *Her.*, 19, 1, 325; Schol. Pind., *Ol.*, xiii, 74; Euripides, *Med.*, 1378; Robert, *Held.*, pp. 186 f.; Nilsson, *G. F.*, pp. 57 f.). At Kaphyae some children in play hanged the image of Artemis Kondylitis. They were stoned by the inhabitants with evil results, which were averted by a yearly offering to the children (Paus., viii, 23, 6). At Thebes was the grave of the Alkaidai, children of Herakles and Megara, who were killed by the mad Herakles; to them cult

[1] This view seems to me more probable than that of Farnell (*H. C.*, p. 225), who regards the terra-cottas as merely ex-votos dedicated by or presents to ladies who had been delivered of twins or triplets. About Nilsson's latest view I am uncertain. He thinks that Greeks entering Greece in the Bronze Age found aboriginal child daemons who guarded the house. For them Zeus was Herkeios, so they called these children Dioskouroi. And this explains why they identified the infant god in Crete with Zeus, Nilsson, *M. M. R.*, pp. 469 f. My feeling is that this is too neat to be true.

was paid at least as early as the time of Pindar (Pindar, *Isthm.*, iii, 61 f.; Euripides, *Herakles*, 1360, 1389; Schol. Pind., *Isthm.*, iii, 536 B; Tzetzes, *Lykophron*, 662).

At Amphissa the objects of worship known as the boy kings were identified first with the Dioskouroi and later, in the third century B. C., with the Kabeiroi (Paus., x, 38, 7; Farnell, *H. C.*, pp. 186 f.). The same may have been the case with the *megaloi theoi* of Andania (P. R., i, p. 862). According to Cicero (*de nat. deor.*, iii, 53) the mysterious Tritopatores of Athens, which seem to have been at once wind spirits and spirits which promoted the propagation of children, were identified with the Dioskouroi, and were called Anaktes (see Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 763). At Lebadeia offering was made to the sons of Trophonios (Paus., ix, 39, 5) whom Plutarch (*de fac. in orb. lun.*, 30, 944) considers to be subaltern good daimones on a parity with Idaean Dactyls and Korybantes.

The whole topic, which is discussed by Nilsson, *G. F.*, pp. 58 f., 213, 418, and Pfister, *Reliquienkult*, i, pp. 313 f., is very obscure, because of the inadequacy of our data, nor is it clear whether in fact all these examples of the cult of heroized children should fall into the same category.[1] Pfister would group together the children of Chalkis, Kaphyae, and Thebes as examples of the placation of ἄωροι βιαιοθάνατοι and, following Usener, would compare their cult with the Christian Feast of Innocents. What light is to be thrown by the Greek examples upon the Christian or by the Christian upon the Greek remains a little obscure both in Pfister and in Usener. I am myself inclined to think that the cults at Brasiai, Pephnus, and Patrai, combined with the archaeological evidence, point to the existence at least in the Peloponnese of a very ancient and possibly pre-Greek cult[2] of a pair or triad of children in association with a female deity probably of child-birth. These perhaps nameless children deities of local cults were later identified with the youthful Dioskouroi. This would explain some of the phenomena cited by Robert (*Held.*, p. 306 f.) in support of his view, which I do not share, that the Dioskouroi originated in the worship of nameless twins. The Greeks of historical times, however, were never very certain or unanimous about this identification, and hence their alternative equation with Kouretes, Korybantes, or Idaean Dactyls, and, when the Samothracian cult attained its great popularity in Hellenistic times, with the

[1] The obscure θεαὶ Παῖδες of certain inscriptions in rock chambers near Syracuse (Orsi, *Not. d. Scavi*, 1899, pp. 452–71 and *ibid.*, xvii, pp. 327 ff.) have been deliberately omitted. They are not connected with the Sicilian twin Palikoi, for they are feminine. They are associated with Ἀνάσσα, Anna and Apollo in different dedications. Whether they are nymphs or forms of Demeter and Kore is quite uncertain. The cult so far as is known is of imperial date. Whatever these θεαὶ Παῖδες may be, I do not think they are relevant to our discussion.

[2] Eileithyia is by many considered to be a pre-Greek divine name.

Kabeiroi. Whether the more numerous groups of the children of Medea, Alkaidai, &c., originated in local cults of the same kind it is difficult to be sure. It is not impossible that they did. The respective *aitia* are in any case *aitia* only, and no analysis of these stories is likely to throw any real light upon the origin of the cults.

Question 23

Q. *Who is the mixarchagetas at Argos and who are the elasioi?*

A. *They call Kastor mixarchagetas and think that he was buried in their territory, but Polydeukes they worship as one of the Olympians.*

But those who claim to avert epilepsies they call elasioi, and consider them to be of the descendants of Alexida, the daughter of Amphiaraos.

That Questions 23, 24, 50, and 51 are from the same source is *prima facie* possible. My own guess that this was Socrates of Argos I find to have been anticipated by Müller, *F. H. G.*, iv, p. 498. This author is thought to have lived in the second century B. C., though his date is uncertain, and the grounds upon which Tresp (*F. G. K.*, pp. 13, 123) identifies him with the Socrates mentioned upon an inscription of the second century (*I. G.*, iv, 757, 8) are not conclusive. He wrote a Periegesis of the Argolid and a treatise upon ritual (περὶ ὁσίων). Though little weight can be laid upon the argument from juxtaposition, the facts that Questions 23, 24, and 25 have the appearance of a sequence like that of Questions 16, 17, and 18, and that Socrates is explicitly cited in Question 25, make our attribution the more probable. Socrates is also used elsewhere by Plutarch and precisely for the kind of information given in these questions (*de uirt. mul.*, 4, Telesilla and the *Hybristika* at Argos; *de Is. et Os.*, 35, worship of the bull Dionysos in Elis and Argos [hence Question 36 is perhaps from the same source, see p. 153 below]; *Quaest. Rom.*, 52, Argive sacrifice of a bitch to Eilioneia; *Quaest. Rom.*, 25, white garments worn in Argive mourning).

This grave of Kastor at Argos has been used to support the theory that Kastor and Polydeukes were originally two separate and independent heroes, who were subsequently united and identified with the nameless Tyndarids. For this view see Bethe in *P. W.*, v, pp. 1087 f.; Robert, *Held.*, pp. 306 f. No one, however, who is at all familiar with the facts of ancient Greek hero cults or with those of the worship of Christian or Moslem saints, will be likely to attach much weight to the existence of an alleged tomb of Kastor in Argos as evidence either for the original independence of the Argive from the Laconian cult or for the original

separateness of the figures of Kastor and Polydeukes. The claim to possess the authentic tomb of the saint or hero by a cult site, to which his worship has in fact been imported, is quite a common phenomenon. Some Greek examples of it will be found in Pfister, *Reliquienkult*, i, pp. 218 f.

The nature and original character of Kastor and Polydeukes is a difficult matter of dispute. In the main my own position is that expounded by Dr. Farnell in *Hero Cults*, pp. 174 f., where an effective criticism of the views here rejected will be found. The Dioskouroi or Tyndaridai are frequently regarded as 'faded gods', who were worshipped as the Heavenly Twins by the ancestors of all the Indo-European peoples. They are thus thought to be equivalent to the Asvins, and the other twins of Greek mythology, Amphion and Zethos and the rest, are regarded as local variations of the same phenomenon, differing only in the local names which in different localities became attached to these twin deities of the sky. For this view see Roscher, *Lex.*, i, pp. 1154 f.

An elaboration of this theory, which we have already noticed, maintains that these twins were originally without individual names, being known only as Dioskouroi or Tyndaridai, Tyndareus being further a "Himmelsgott", masquerading under the title of "der stossende". The names Kastor and Polydeukes, according to this hypothesis, belonged originally to two quite separate and independent heroes, who subsequently became identified with the Tyndarids.

With all and any of these views I disagree. With Farnell, I believe Kastor and Polydeukes, the sons of a mortal Tyndareus, to have been two Laconian twin heroes, originally quite unrelated either to the Heavenly Twins of Indo-European mythology or to other pairs of Greek divine or semi-divine twins. It should be noticed that the title of Dioskouroi appears to be secondary to that of Tyndaridai and to have been applied to them first at a relatively late date. It is not known to Homer, and first occurs in literature—and even here it is a descriptive not a self-explanatory title—in *Homeric Hymn*, xxxiii:

> ἀμφὶ Διὸς κούρους ἑλικώπιδες ἕσπετε Μοῦσαι
> Τυνδαρίδας, Λήδης καλλισφύρου ἀγλαὰ τέκνα.

The story that they alternatively live in Heaven and in the Underworld is as old as *Odyssey*, xi, 298, and, as Nilsson first suggested (*G. F.*, p. 417), it may have its origin in the blending of the rituals of an Olympian with a Chthonian cult. That Kastor was mortal and Polydeukes immortal, the one being the son of Tyndareus and the other of Zeus, was first stated in the *Kypria*. This idea probably rests upon the world-wide superstition that of twins one must be the offspring of a divine father; compare in Greek mythology Herakles and Iphikles (Farnell, *H. C.*, p. 224).

As regards the cult at Argos, there are those who believe that

it was indigenous there as well as in Laconia ('alteinheimisch', Roscher, *Lex.*, i, p. 1165). Naturally our view that Kastor and Polydeukes were heroes and not 'faded gods' will make the acceptance of this more difficult. But, quite apart from that, the very complete survey of the cult evidence by Farnell decidedly supports what is, after all, the natural interpretation of the tradition, viz. that the only true and original home of the cult of the Tyndaridai was in Laconia, and that from here it radiated over the Greek world. Further, Pindar (*Nemean*, x) has told us of the reception of the Tyndaridai at Argos by Pamphaes, a legendary account of the introduction of their cult. That it was recognized as an imported cult at Argos is stated by Schol. Pind., *Pyth.*, i, 127 b.

At Argos their worship, it is true, took firm root. In the town Pausanias visited their temple with its statues by Dipoinos and Skyllis (Paus., ii, 22, 5), and a shrine of the Dioskouroi Anaktes lay outside Argos on the road to Lerna (Paus., ii, 36, 6). A late inscription (*C. I. G.*, 1628) mentions "the gods in the Anakeion", and athletic dedications to the Anakes, which date from the sixth century B. C., have been found at Argos (references in Roscher, *Lex.*, i, p. 1165; Farnell, *H. C.*, p. 203). Upon inscriptions of imperial date (*C. I. G.*, 1124, 1340) Argive priestly families claim descent from Perseus and the Dioskouroi.

Finally, we may notice a mistaken argument (Robert, *Held.*, p. 510) in favour of the existence of a separate and independent Argive Kastor, the son, not of Tyndareus, but of Hippalos, who is alleged to be mentioned by Theocritus (xxiv, 129) as the boxing master of Herakles.

Κάστωρ ἱππαλίδας δέδαεν φυγὰς Ἄργεος ἐλθών.

But Theocritus, xxii, evidently knows nothing of a Kastor, son of Hippalos, and ἱππαλίδας in fact seems to be a poetic form of ἱππεύς (see Liddell and Scott, and Herwerden, *Lex. Supp.*, *s. v.*). The Argive Dioskouroi, who were the sons of Alexida (Pfister, *op. cit.*, p. 221, n. 803), have an obvious origin in a careless misreading of the passage before us and a quite unjustifiable identification of the Dioskouroi and the *elasioi*. In fact there is no evidence at all of the separate existence of a specifically Argive Kastor or of Argive Dioskouroi, who are distinct and different from the Laconian Tyndarids.

We turn then to the curious title "mixarchagetas". The word must mean "half an archagetas", compare μιξοβάρβαρος, μιξάνθρωπος, μιξέλληνες. Thus Xylander writes "quasi semideum diceres gentilitatis Argiuae auctorem non tamen caelitem". With Liddell and Scott, "half a tribal hero", I should disagree, nor am I happy about Farnell's interpretation (*H. C.*, p. 202), "connected with the founders of our race", a title which "might have arisen from the marriage connexion of Agamemnon with the

family of Leda and Tyndareos". This seems to me a little far-fetched to account for the title of a public cult.

Archagetas, or in its non-Doric form Archegetes, fem. Archegetis, was, of course, applied to founders of colonies, and hence it is as the patron of colonization that in some cults Apollo enjoys this title, e.g. Naxos in Sicily (Thucydides, vi, 3). Clearly this, the most familiar use of the word, will not help us here.

It was also applied to a god or hero who was bound to the particular state or social unit, which worshipped him under this title, by special local or ancestral ties. τῷ ἀρχαγέτᾳ θεῷ τᾶς πόλιος, Phyntis *ap.* Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, 74, 61, 445. Thus the heroes at Plataea are *archegetai* (Plutarch, *Aristides*, 11), and so are the heroes of Athenian tribes and demes (Aristophanes, *Frag.* 186 (126); Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 21, 6). Hence Herakles is called the *archegetes* of the Cynics (Lucian, *Con. Lapith.*, 16). He is also in a yet truer sense *archagetas* of the Spartans. Ἡρακλεῖ τε τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἀρχηγέτῃ καὶ Διοσκούροιν τοῖν ὑμετέροιν πολίταιν (Xenophon, *Hell.*, vi, 3, 6). For further examples of the use of *archegetes* as a cult title see Jessen in *P. W.*, ii, pp. 441–4.

Now, further, if Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 6, is to be trusted, *archagetai* was the true and ancient official title of the Spartan kings. Kahrstedt (*Griechisches Staatsrecht*, i, pp. 126–7) has emphasized the peculiarly sacred character of the kings of Sparta, who are almost treated as incarnate heroes. He notes their very close association with the Tyndarids, whose images accompanied the two kings to battle, and, perhaps rightly, believes that they were originally regarded as in some sense reincarnations of these national heroes. Here I have modified Kahrstedt's view by substituting 'heroes' for 'gods'; for Kahrstedt evidently adheres to the view, which I regard as mistaken, that all Greek heroes are 'faded gods'.

I venture, then, to suggest that the Tyndarids may once have been called by the Doric title of *archagetai*, which would correspond to the familiar *anaktes*. Against this explanation it must be admitted that the title is otherwise unattested either at Sparta or at Argos, while our earliest Argive epigraphical evidence (see above, p. 118) gives the Tyndaridai their usual cult title of *Anakes*. The suggestion, therefore, is a possibility rather than a probability.

Whatever be the origin of the title *archagetas*, there can be little doubt that Kastor is called *mixarchagetas*, because, as compared with the Olympian Polydeukes, he is not a complete *archagetas*. That clearly represents Plutarch's intention in the matter, and it is probably correct.

The *elasioi* and Alexida, the daughter of Amphiaraos, are not otherwise mentioned in classical literature.[1] There is no apparent

[1] Jayne, *The Healing Gods of Ancient Civilization*, p. 305, states that "the daughter of the god Alexida and Hestia assisted the suppliants and exercised

connexion between them and the Dioskouroi; presumably their mention here is due to accidental juxtaposition in Plutarch's notebook or in Plutarch's source.

The view that epilepsy is a form of possession is widely held in many parts of the world. To quote but one example, the Dravidian tribes of India seek to cure the disease by beating it out of the patient (Frazer, *G. B.*, third ed., *The Scape Goat*, p. 260), and a similar procedure may perhaps explain the origin of the title *elasioi*. For the popular belief in Greece that epilepsy was caused by possession reference will naturally be made to the Hippocratic tract *Upon the Sacred Disease*, one of the most famous of enlightened polemics against superstition. How the exorcists diagnosed from the patient's symptoms what particular god was the agent of possession is there described. For possession and exorcism in classical antiquity see further Tambornino, *de antiquorum daemonismo*, pp. 57, 90, 93; and Rohde, *Psyche*, ii, pp. 76 f.

Amphiaraos, whose most famous shrine was at Oropus (for this and for his cult as a healer at Athens see Kutsch, *Attische Heilgötter und Heilheroen*, pp. 34–46), was an Argive by birth, though descended from the famous immigrant seer Melampus. His shrine at Argos is noticed by Pausanias, ii, 23, 2. Through Amphiaraos, whose son Alcmaeon was the father of Klytios, the famous seer family of Klytidai were genealogically linked with the Melampodidai (see Robert, *Held.*, p. 967).

Question 24

Q. *What is that which is called 'enknisma' among the Argives?*

A. *It is the custom for those who lose one of their relatives or intimate friends immediately after the mourning to sacrifice †to Apollo† and thirty days after that to Hermes. For they think that as the earth receives the bodies of those who die, so Hermes receives their souls.*

Now they give barley to the priest of Apollo and take flesh of the sacrifice and, after putting out the fires as having been polluted, they light fire from another's house. Then they roast the meat, which they call 'enknisma'.

The source is not indicated. For the possibility that it was Socrates of Argos see above, p. 116.

The word *enknisma* is otherwise unknown.

Professor H. J. Rose drew my attention to the very serious difficulty which is raised by the statement that there is a sacrifice to Apollo immediately after the mourning. It makes nonsense of

healing functions" at Oropus. No reference is given, and I have failed to trace any authority for the statement in literature or in the inscriptions, and suspect it to be a blunder.

the first half of Plutarch's antithesis : *ὥσπερ τὰ σώματα τῶν ἀποθανόντων δέχεσθαι τὴν γῆν*. The procedure must surely have been that upon return from the funeral the mourners sacrificed to some Underworld Power (such as Zeus Chthonios or Ge or perhaps ΠΛΟΥΤΩΝΙ) ; after thirty days they sacrifice to Hermes and *then* show that they are formally *καθαροί* by contributing to and eating of an Olympian sacrifice, cooking their share on a new fire, as the old has been contaminated. I suspect an unintelligent correction on the part of a scribe based upon *τοῦ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος τῷ ἀμφιπόλῳ* lower down.

Alluding to this passage, Farnell (*Evolution of Religion*, p. 135) has said : ' in one method of *κάθαρσις* only the Hellenic ritual is unique, so far as I know : sacrificial communion with God was sometimes considered an effective means of obliterating the impurity which the kinsmen contracted by a death in the family : at Argos the mourners put off the ' tapu ' by eating of the sacrifice to Apollo, believing that the spirit of the pure god in the sacred food could destroy the miasma within and around them.'

Our knowledge of the regulations for mourning in the Greek states (apart from the glosses of the lexicographers and the incidental notices of the action of Solon and other lawgivers in laying down rules to limit extravagance at funerals) is derived from a few well-known inscriptions. These are the *lex Labyadarum* at Delphi (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, second edition [it is omitted in the third], 438), the *lex Iulietarum* at Keos (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, third edition, 1218), and the *lex Gambreotarum* (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, third edition, 1219). Two other fragmentary inscriptions from Tegea (*I. G.*, v, 2, 4) and Kleonai (*I. G.*, iv, 1607) respectively belong to the same category. The whole evidence for the normal procedure of Greek funerals and mourning will be found in Rohde, *Psyche*, i, pp. 231 f. and *P. W.*, *s. v.* Funus.

In usual Greek practice the funeral feast (*perideipnon*) was held in the house of the dead man immediately after the return from the funeral. A meal for the deceased was offered upon his grave on the third (*trita*) and ninth (*enata*) days after burial, and the period of strict mourning ended upon the ninth day.

This period of nine days, however, was not universally the rule.

Thus in Sparta the period was eleven days (Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 27), and it was broken by the offering of a sacrifice to Demeter. Public business was suspended and public mourning observed for ten days after a Spartan royal funeral (Herodotus, vi, 58). The Labyadae observed strict mourning for ten days after the funeral. *μηδὲ τᾷ ὑστεραίᾳ* (when the *περίδειπνον* no doubt was held) *μηδὲ ἐν ταῖς δεκάταις μηδ' ἐν τοῖς ἐνιαυτοῖς μήτ' οἰμώζειν μήτ' ὀτοτύζειν.* In Keos, on the other hand (*lex. Iul.*, l. 17), the house is purified the day after the funeral and sacrifice offered on the hearth. *ἐπὴν δὲ διαρανθῆι, καθαρὴν ἔναι τὴν οἰκίην καὶ θύη θύεν ἐφίσπα.*

At Athens and in some other parts of Greece the thirtieth day

after burial was celebrated by a funeral feast (*triakades*), at which the guests did not recline in the fashion of historical Greece, but, like Homeric Achaeans, sat to their meat. This commemorative festival might be four times repeated; mourning was then completely over. No further obligation upon the mourners remained, except, of course, that of the son or heir to render *ta nomima* in periodic commemorative rites.

The period of thirty days, for which there are parallels outside Greece, was not so firmly fixed in the popular consciousness as those of three and nine. The *trita* and *enata*, as Rohde notes, were of greater importance than the *triakades*. We may perhaps regard the period between the ninth day and the thirtieth at Athens as a period of half-mourning. All over the world the initial stages of mourning, like the initial shock of grief, tend to be more serious and severe; as mourning proceeds the relative importance of the ceremonies declines with the degree of anxiety which prompts them. The whole process falls under M. van Gennep's general scheme of *rites de séparation*, *rites de marge*, and *rites d'agrégation* (van Gennep, *Les Rites de Passage*, pp. 209 f.). 'Pendant le deuil les vivants et le mort constituent une société spéciale, située entre le monde des vivants d'une part et le monde des morts de l'autre" (van Gennep, *op. cit.*, p. 211). The most dangerous period is that of the initial severance of man from the life of this world with which his contact decreases with the lapse of time and in consequence of the rites which are performed. Hence there is normally a distinction between a period of strict mourning and a period of half-mourning, in which the spirit of the deceased is in more remote contact with the world of the living but has not yet definitely severed all connexion and become wholly identified with the other world.

With regard to half-mourning practice differed in detail in different places. Thus at Athens the *triakades* were thrice repeated. At Gambreon the regulations (l. 10) limit mourning ceremonies to three months for male and four for female mourners. *ἐπιτελεῖν δὲ τὰ νόμιμα τοῖς ἀποιχομένοις ἔσχατον ἐν τρισὶ μησίν, τῶι δὲ τετάρτωι λύειν τὰ πένθη τοὺς ἄνδρας, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας τῶι πέμπτωι.* At Keos the ceremony on the thirtieth day was suppressed (*ἐπὶ τῶι θανόντι τριηκόστα μὴ ποιεν*), but one was evidently celebrated at the expiration of a year (*τῆς τρίτης ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐνιαυσίοις καθαροὺς εἶναι τοὺς ποιοῦντας*), as it was also by the Labyadae, who do not seem to have observed the thirtieth day.

Our periods of three, nine, and thirty days are well established stages in mourning from very ancient times in Europe, and it is interesting to find that popular superstition, for reasons which are obvious, connects with each of them the last possible appearance of the dead man to the living. For example, in England ghosts walk until the third day after burial (Henderson, *Folklore of the Northern Counties*, p. 333); the ninth day is a usual date for the

appearance of ghosts (Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, fourth edition, iii, pp. 465, n. 856 *ap.* Rohde, *Psyche*, ii, p. 392, n. 2, cf. *ibid.*, i, p. 232, n. 4, where classical parallels are given); frequently the twenty-ninth night is held to be the very last time that the ghost can appear to its sorrowing relative in a dream.

The periods of mourning are normally broken by sacrifice. At Keos the purification of the house on the day succeeding the funeral is followed by sacrifice on the hearth. At Sparta the eleven days mourning prescribed by the Lycurgan régime are followed by a sacrifice to Demeter on the twelfth. Similar no doubt are the 'milder sacrifices' which Epimenides introduced into Athenian funeral ritual (*καὶ περὶ τὰ πένθη πραοτέρους θυσίας τινὰς ἐνθὺς ἀναμίξας πρὸς τὰ κήδη καὶ τὸ σκληρὸν ἀφελὼν καὶ τὸ βαρβαρικόν*, Plutarch, *Solon*, 12).

At Argos it would appear that a sacrifice after the funeral, apparently from the context to some Chthonian deity (see p. 121 above), closed the first period of mourning. The thirty days' period was closed by sacrifice to Hermes, whose appropriateness, as Psychopompos, is obvious. The explanation in the text almost literally represents the true theory of the rite. Mourning, as we have seen, represents a transition period between this world and the next. The transition period is now over; the severance of the dead man's spirit from this world is now complete; he is wholly part of the world of souls.[1] The same idea as that expressed by Plutarch is responsible for the practice of temporary burial, e.g. in modern Greek lands. When the body has decayed, the soul has passed from all connexion with the world of flesh, and the bones may be dug up (three years is the normal period in modern Greek practice), placed in an ossuary or even thrown aside (see Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, pp. 244–5). If the body has not decayed, the reason is held to be that excommunication has hindered the passage of the soul, it remains dangerously attached to this world, and is in fact a *vrykolakas* or vampire. Similar ideas that the spirit is bound to this world, so long as the flesh remains, account for the practice of artificially stripping the bones, which may be as old as Neolithic man and is pretty widely used to-day in the Lower Culture (see van Gennep, *op. cit.*, p. 213; *E. R. E.*, iv, p. 442).

The sacrifice to Hermes Psychopompos was followed by the ritual of obtaining meat from the priest of Apollo and cooking it upon new fire. This finally closed the taboo period for the mourners. Apollo is perhaps concerned as the god of purification; his name occurs in line 4 of the inscription from Tegea, but unfortunately the text is too fragmentary for interpretation.

[1] For similar stages in Indian Moslem belief see Crooke-Herklot, *Islam in India*, pp. 107 foll. The *lahā bharnā* rites are observed on the fortieth day when the ghost leaves the house. "After the first year the dead man is numbered with the sainted dead of the family."

The Greek sacrifice to Olympian deities was, of course, essentially a meal. *οὐκ ἔσθω κενέβρειον· ὅταν θύσῃς τι κάλει με*, Aristophanes, *Frag.* 693 (Kock). This particular meal upon sacred meat closes the mourning, and by extinguishing the fire which has been dangerously polluted by the presence of death and rekindling it from a neighbour's hearth the purity of the symbol of the family well-being is restored. The notion that the hearth fire is susceptible to pollution with consequent danger to the family is world-wide. Some examples will be found in Frazer, *G. B.*, *Balder the Beautiful*, i, p. 87 (extinction at menstruation); *ib.*, pp. 132 f. (annual extinction); *ib.*, pp. 29, 45 f., 84 f., 178 (taboos to prevent persons in a state of impurity from contaminating the fire). In particular the extinction of the house-fire during mourning is a very common practice. Frequently the mourners must remain fireless from the time of the death to the conclusion of the funeral ceremonies, depending, during this period, upon food supplied by neighbours. Of this some examples will be found in *E. R. E.*, iv, pp. 439, 483, 510; Samter, *Volkskunde im altsprachlichen Unterricht*, i, pp. 117–18; Frazer, *G. B.*, *The Magic Art*, ii, p. 267, n. 4.

This seems also to have been the general custom among the Greeks. The water in the *ardanion* or lustral pitcher, which was provided for the purification of visitors to the house of mourning, must also be fetched from another house (Hesychius, *s. v.* *ὄστρακον*, Rohde, *Psyche*, i, p. 219). For general Graeco-Roman practice the extinction of the house-fire is attested by Schol. Juvenal, iii, 214, and when Thelyphron contracts to guard the corpse, the widow professes to be indignant at his terms. "Do you ask to be provided with a regular dinner in this house of sorrow, where no fire has been kindled these many days?" (Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, ii, 24). Hence, if some one is ill, to dream of the fire going out signifies death (Artemidorus, *On.*, ii, 9). When Hephaestion died, Alexander ordered all his subjects to extinguish their fires, an act of mourning, which had been customary in Persia upon the death of the King of Kings (Diodorus, xvii, 114: with the Persian practice compare the African and American analogies in Frazer, *G. B.*, *The Magic Art*, ii, pp. 261 f.).

Similar ideas are in evidence in the institution of the cult of the heroes at Plataea, when Delphi bade the extinction of the fires, which had been polluted by the presence of the Mede (Plutarch, *Aristides*, 20), and at the yearly purification of Lemnos. Here the fire was extinguished for nine days, a significant period; fresh fire was brought from Delos, and if the ship arrived too early it must remain at sea until the purification ceremonies were over. *θεοὺς γὰρ χθονίους καὶ ἀπορρήτους καλοῦντες τότε καθαρόν, οἶμαι, τὸ πῦρ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ φυλάττουσιν* (Philostratus, *Heroica*, xx, 24). For references to the periodic bringing of the sacred fire from Delphi to Athens and similar Greek ceremonies see Nilsson, *G. F.*, pp. 173–4.

At first sight the procedure with regard to the *enknisma* presents

the appearance of a ritual sale; the sacrificers gave barley to the priest of Apollo and received sacrificial meat in exchange. But consideration of the ordinary Greek procedure at sacrifice (for which see Stengel, *Kultusaltertümer*, pp. 40 f.) will show this to be unnecessary. Very often the priest seems to have provided the necessaries of sacrifice other than the victim, the wood, and in some cases the *oulai*. In this case the regulations, from which Plutarch's authority may well be drawing, may have specified that the *oulai* were to be provided by the sacrificers. Again, in return for his services and for what he provided, the priest always received perquisites (*gere*). These usually included the skin and portions of the flesh of the victims. The subordinate officials, the flute-player, smith, wood-cutter, and so forth, were also sometimes rewarded with specified portions (Stengel, *op. cit.*, p. 118; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 1925, 30). But in addition to portions of the victim they sometimes also received both money payments and perquisites in kind. At Kos the priest[1] who offers to Herakles receives three measures of barley, three quarters of wheat, four bowls of honey, twelve sheeps-milk cheeses, a load of kindling, a load of logs, a new oven for baking cakes, and three half-measures of wine (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 1027).

If there is some doubt here, whether these are to be given to the god or to the priest, there is fortunately none about the sacrifice of two sows to Demeter Chloe at Mykonos. μαγίρωι ἄρχοντες διδόντων ὀσφὺν καὶ κωλὴν τῆς ὑὸς τῆς ἑτέρης, ἀλφίτων δύο χοίνικας, οἴνου τρεῖς κοτύλας (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 1024, 14, cf. *ibid.*, 921, 5 [Athens]).

The barley, then, which is given to the *amphipolos* at Argos may either be the grain to be used for the *aparchai*, or a perquisite of the priest analogous to the two measures of barley given to the *mageiros* at Mykonos. In view of Eitrem's theories (see p. 52 above), it may be well to point out that, in spite of the occasion, there is no reason to postulate here any special connexion between barley and the dead. Apollo, we need hardly be reminded, is an Olympian deity.

The flesh of the beasts sacrificed was normally divided up and assigned according to the regulations by the officials in charge of the proceedings. Except in special circumstances the portions which fell to the sacrificers could then be carried home by them. What general rule covered the exceptional cases of prohibition I am not clear. Stengel (*op. cit.*, p. 116) suggests that consumption of the flesh of the sacrifice upon the spot was obligatory in all sacrifices to Chthonian powers, which were not holocausts. Such a rule would be intelligible enough but, unfortunately, the evidence does not support so simple an explanation.[2]

[1] I still prefer the restoration ἰαρεῖ to the θεῶι which Hiller wishes to substitute.

[2] While as applied to Chthonian Zeus and Chthonian Ge (Dittenberger,

I take it, then, that the sacrifice to Apollo was perfectly normal. A portion of the flesh was taken home by the worshippers in the ordinary way, and neither in this nor in the giving of barley to the priest is there anything necessarily exceptional. The subsequent ritual of the cooking of this flesh was, of course, dictated by the special circumstances.

Question 25

Q. *What are alastor, aliterios, palamnaios?*

A. *For we must not believe those who say that those who spied upon the grinder of corn during the famine and plundered him, were called aliterioi. But the man who had done unforgettable things, which for long will be called to mind, was called alastor, while aliterios was applied to the man whom it was proper to avoid and to guard against on account of his wickedness. These things, says Socrates, they have written on tablets of bronze.*

Plutarch here explicitly quotes Socrates of Argos (see p. 116 above), from whom the whole passage may be bodily transcribed. The *diphtherai chalkai*, from which Socrates drew his information, were doubtless official priestly records of some kind (Tresp., *F. G. K.*, p. 126). For the use of inscriptions, archives, &c., by Greek writers of treatises upon cult see Tresp., *op. cit.*, pp. 24 ff. For instance the famous Lindian Temple Chronicle is to be put together ἔκ τε τᾶν ἐπιστολᾶν καὶ τῶν χρηματισμῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων μαρτυρίων ἃ κα ἦι ἁρμόζοντα περὶ τῶν ἀναθεμάτων καὶ τᾶς ἐπιφανείας τᾶς Θεοῦ (Blinkenberg, *Die Lindische Tempelchronik, Lietzmann's Kleine Texte*, pp. 4–6).

The primary meaning of *diphthera* is 'prepared leather', but its secondary meaning of 'writing material' of whatever kind is so well established that the phrase "bronze diptherai" is not so forced nor difficult as it might, at first sight, appear.

Aliterioi, *alastores*, and *palamnaioi* were the avenging agencies, which were called into activity by murder. For *aliterioi* in this sense see the *Tetralogies* of Antiphon, and for comment upon the passages Rohde, *Psyche*, i, p. 275, n. 2. Unavenged murder automatically creates an ἐνθύμιον· οὐκ ἐὰν οὖν ἀπολύσητε ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἐὰν καταλάβητε ἐνθύμιον ὑπολείψεσθε. ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς τὰς αὐτοῦ ἁμαρτίας φέρων οὐδενὶ οὐδὲν προστρόπαιον καταλείψει (*Tetr.*, ii, δ, 9).

Sylloge, 1024, 27), Demeter (*ibid.*, 1025, 61), Rhea (*ibid.*, 1026, 4), Asklepios and Hygieia (*ibid.*, 1041, 1), and Amphiaraos (*ibid.*, 1004, 31) the prohibition may be so explained; it may be noticed (*a*) that the prohibition is sometimes partial (e. g. of the swine and goat sacrificed to Dionysos Skyllites at Kos the flesh of the swine only might be removed, *ibid.*, 1025, 47 and 61); (*b*) the deity to whose sacrifice the taboo applies is not always Chthonian, e. g. the sacrifice to Athena Machanitis (*ibid.*, 1026, 22–4) and the partial taboo in the sacrifice to Hera (*ibid.*, 1026, 6–11).

The unavenged deprivation of God's gift of life εἰκότως θεοῦ τιμωρίαν ὑπολείπει τὴν τῶν ἀλιτηρίων δυσμένειαν (*Tetr.*, iii, α, 3). If the murder be not avenged, δεινοὺς ἀλιτηρίους ἕξομεν τοὺς τῶν ἀποθανόντων προστροπαίους (*Tetr.*, iii, α, 4). This μήνιμα τῶν ἀλιτηρίων (*Tetr.*, iii, β, 8) affects the whole city (*Tetr.*, iii, γ, 7; cf. i, α, 3, i, α, 11, ii, α, 1, iii, α, 5, iii, γ, 7, and see note to Question 14, p. 81 above).

For *alastores* and *palamnaioi* Plutarch tells us that after Apollo slew Python "he made offerings and libations, as men do when they design the appeasing of those avenging spirits, whom we call *alastores* and *palamnaioi*" (Plutarch, *de def. orac.*, 15, 418 B). The *daimones palamnaioi* are the underworld agents of Nemesis and avenge injustice. ἅπαντα δὲ ταῦτα ἐν δευτέρᾳ περιόδῳ ἡ Νέμεσις συνδιέκρινε σὺν δαίμοσι παλαμναίοις χθονίοις τε τοῖς ἐπόπταις τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, οἷς ὁ πάντων ἡγεμὼν θεὸς ἐπέτρεψε διοίκησιν κόσμῳ συμπεπληρωμένῳ ἐκ θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων τῶν τε ἄλλων ζώων κτλ. (Timaeus Locrensis, 104 E). τὰς δὲ τῶν ἄδικα παθόντων ψυχὰς οὔπω κατενοήσατε οἵους μὲν φόβους τοῖς μιαιφόνοις ἐμβάλλουσι, οἵους δὲ παλαμναίους τοῖς ἀνοσίοις ἐπιπέμπουσι (Xenophon, *Cyrop.*, viii, 7, 18). Hence *Aliterios*, *Alastor*, and *Palamnaios* are applied as titles to the gods who avenge murder, and, like *Prostropaios*, the titles have both an active and a passive sense, i. e. the god who executes vengeance or the god who purifies the guilty from the consequences of crime. θεοὶ λύσιοι, καθάρσιοι, ἁγνῖται, φύξιοι . . . παλαμναῖοι, προστροπαῖοι (Pollux, *On.*, i, 24). Thus Zeus and the Erinyes are *Alastores* (Roscher, *Lex.*, s. v. *Alastor*; Cook, *Zeus*, ii, pp. 1097–9; P. R., i, p. 145); Zeus and Demeter are *Aliterios* and *Aliteria* (P. R., *loc. cit.*; *P. W.*, i, p. 1497), and Zeus is *Palamnaios* (P. R., *loc. cit.*; Cook, *loc. cit.*).

All three words are used in much the same senses and can signify (1) a person who has committed an abominable crime, (2) a spirit which avenges such a crime, (3) an evil spirit or fiend, (4) a god who avenges the crime, (5) a god who purifies the criminal, or (6) a strong word of abuse equivalent to scoundrel or rascal.

If we take them in turn, the popular etymology of *aliterios*, which is here rejected (by Socrates?), is recorded by Plutarch at greater length in *de curiositate*, 523 A–B. See also *Et. Mag.*, s. v. ἀλιτήριοι; Bekker, *Anec. Graec.*, 377, 11; Suidas, s. v. ἀλιτήριος.

The alternative derivation from ἀλεύασθαι, which is here offered, is almost equally fanciful.

The true derivation is doubtless from ἀλιτεῖν, and the primary meaning of the word 'a sinner' (cf. ἀλίτημα ἀλιτόξενος). Thus the murderers of the Kylonian conspirators are ἐναγεῖς καὶ ἀλιτήριοι τῆς θεοῦ (Thucydides, i, 126; cf. Schol. Aristophanes, *Knights*, 443).

Hence is derived the sense of wretch or accursed agent of the destruction of his country or family, e. g. Plutarch, *Comp. Cic.*

et Dem., 4; *Galba*, 4; Eupolis, *Frag.* 96 (Kock). The various associations of the word all lend force to the passage of invective against Kallias in Andokides, *de Myst.*, 132, explaining how the saying that Hipponikos was rearing an *aliterios* came true. In Eupolis (*Frag.* 146 b) the word is applied to Protagoras in the sense of "pernicious sacrilegious scoundrel".

The conception of *Alastor* as the daimon of vengeance will be familiar from Aeschylean usage, e. g. *Agamemnon*, 1500. For Thebes the hero Oedipus will be an *alastor*, for Athens a *soter* (Sophocles, *O. C.*, 787 f. Cf. Antigone in Euripides, *Phoen.*, 1556 foll. See also the discussion of the passages in Pfister, *Reliquienkult*, i, p. 109, ii, p. 560).

From the sense of daimon of vengeance *alastor* derives a wider connotation of evil spirit or fiend. Euripides, *Electra*, 979, perhaps illustrates the transition, where Orestes says of the oracle's command to slay his father, ἆρ' αὖτ' ἀλάστωρ εἶπ' ἀπεικασθεὶς θεῷ; In Euripides, *Iph. Aul.*, 946, there seems to be no idea of vengeance; the word is equivalent to 'fiend'. ὡς οὐχὶ Πηλέως, ἀλλ' ἀλάστορος γεγώς. For this sense compare Plutarch, *de def. orac.*, 14, 417 D. Madness is *νοσεῖν ἐξ ἀλαστόρων*, Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 1235, and possession may be described as *ἀλάστορας ἔχειν* (Hippokrates, *de Morb. Sacr.*, 1). Like *aliterios*, *alastor* can be applied to a criminal, whom the spirits of vengeance pursue, and hence its use as a term of abuse, e. g. Demosthenes, *de cor.*, 296, p. 324, *ἄνθρωποι μιαροὶ καὶ κόλακες καὶ ἀλάστορας, ἠκρωτηριασμένοι τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι πατρίδας.*

About the derivation of *alastor* antiquity held various views. Cornutus, 10, gives *ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιαῦτα ἁμαρτάνειν, ἐφ' οἷς ἔστιν ἀλαστῆσαι καὶ στενάξαι.* Chrysippos (*Et. Mag.*, 57, 25, s. v. *ἀλάστωρ* = *Frag.* 156, von Arnim) derived the word *ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλάσεως, ὁ ἄξιος τοῦ ἐλαύνεσθαι διὰ φόνον ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀλᾶσθαι τὸ πλανᾶσθαι.* Apollodorus, no doubt by confusion with the synonym *aliterios*, derived it *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀλιτεῖν.* A further alternative was that of the popular etymology, *ὁ ἄλαστα δρῶν*, which is given here. For this compare Plutarch, *de def. orac.*, 15; Bekker, *Anec. Graec.*, 211, 18; Eustathius, pp. 474, 21, 1213, 44, 1415, 17; Suidas, s. v. *ἀλάστωρ*; Cornutus, 10.

The Stoic derivation from *ἀλᾶσθαι* is no doubt the correct one, though I am unable to agree with Mr. Lawson (*Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*, pp. 471 f. and *C. R.*, xl, pp. 52–8, 116–21) that the *alastor* was originally an animated corpse or *revenant*, equivalent to the modern Greek *vrykolakas*. But no doubt the associations of the word have been enriched by the very general belief that 'les individus pour qui n'ont pas été exécutés les rites funéraires, de même que les enfants non baptisés, ou non dénommés, ou non initiés, sont destinés à une existence lamentable, sans pouvoir jamais pénétrer dans le monde des morts, ni s'agréger à la société qui s'y est constituée' (van

Gennep, *op. cit.*, p. 229). Like these wandering souls are the accursed, whose remains even the elements reject (e. g. Skylla in Ovid, *Met.*, vii, 444; on this see Halliday, *Greek Divination*, p. 111).

Either Plutarch or the copyist has evidently omitted the explanation of *palamnaios* by an oversight. The correct derivation is probably that given by Autokleides (Tresp, *F. G. K.*, *Frag.* 8, p. 49), τοὺς αὐτοχειρίᾳ τίνας ἀνελόντας τῇ παλάμῃ παλαμναίους ἐκάλουν. Compare Hesychius, *Et. Mag.*, Photius and Suidas, s. v.; Bekker, *Anec. Graec.*, 293, 12; Eustathius, p. 586, 2.

Cornutus, 10, has ἀπὸ τοῦ ταῖς παλάμαις μιάσματα ἀνέκθυτα ἀποτελεῖν, and clearly, as Wyttenbach notes, a popular etymology connected it with παλαιός and μνήμη or μήνιμα. Thus Plutarch (*de def. orac.*, 15, 418 B) οὓς ἀλάστορας καὶ παλαμναίους ὀνομάζουσιν ὡς ἀλήστων τινῶν καὶ παλαιῶν μιασμάτων μνήμαις ἐπεξιόντας.

From "murderer" it comes to mean "one defiled by blood", who may not speak until he has been purified, Aeschylus, *Eum.*, 448. (For this taboo compare the silence of Telephos, for which see Robert, *Held.*, p. 1146.) Like the other words, which we have been considering, *palamnaios* descended to being a term of abuse. Τεύκρῳ γὰρ οὐχὶ βούλομαι μήνυτρα δοῦναι τῷ παλαμναίῳ ξένῳ (Phrynichus, *Frag.* 58 (Kock)). The fox in Babrius is thus addressed as 'rascal' (see Liddell and Scott, s. v. where further examples are given). The use of *palamnaios* for 'avenging spirit' has been illustrated above. Like *alastor*, the word is sometimes used for an evil but not necessarily an avenging spirit. Thus Thoas, veiling his eyes at Iphigeneia's orders, supposes the reason to be μὴ παλαμναῖον λάβω (Euripides, *Iph. T.*, 1218). Compare Plutarch, *de superst.*, 10, 170 B αἴτε καὶ ἐκ τριόδων καθαρμάτεσσιν ἐπισπώμενα τῷ παλαμναίῳ συμπλεχθεῖσα.

Question 26

Q. *What is the reason that the maidens who escort those who lead the ox from the Ainianes to Kassiopaea chant, until they reach the boundary,*

'May ye never return home to your dear fatherland'?

A. *The Ainianes, when driven out by the Lapithai, dwelt first of all round about Aithakia, then in the Molossian district and Kassiopaea; but since they had no good of this country and also found their neighbours hard to deal with, they came into the Kirrhaean Plain, under the leadership of their king Oinoklos. But there, when great droughts befell, they stoned Oinoklos in accordance with an oracle, as it is said, and again wandering arrived in this country, which they now possess, a good land which bears all kinds*

of crops. Hence it seems probable they pray to the gods not to return again to their old fatherland, but to remain here where they are prosperous.

The source is clearly the same as that of Question 13. The phraseology εἰς ταύτην τὴν χώραν κτλ. and αὐτοῦ would seem to suggest that it is taken from some history of the Ainianes. This may have been Aristotle, *Constitution of Malians*.

For the wanderings of the Ainianes and the stoning of Oinoklos see pp. 73–9 above.

Kassiopaea is the district west of Ambracia in Molossian Epirus. The name appears not to be Greek; Fick (*V. O.*, pp. 13, 79) quotes further a Kassiope in Corcyra, and with these classes Kassotis and Kassana in Magnesia. The name of our district appears in various forms. Pliny (*N. H.*, iv, 1, (1), 2) gives Cassiopaei, Diodorus (xix, 88) Kassopia; on coins the form Κασσωπαίων occurs, and an inscription (*B. C. H.*, 1886, p. 178) gives Κασσώπα.

The ritual, perhaps an annual affair, is not otherwise known. Its existence tends to confirm the historicity of the wandering of the Ainianes. The chant of the maidens is adapted from *Odyssey*, xviii, 148 (cf. xix, 298), ὁππότε νοστήσειε φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν, and incidentally illustrates the all-pervading influence of the Homeric poems.

Plutarch's explanation is not very convincing. The chant is apparently maintained until the frontier of Ainianian territory is reached, and it must be to the later, historical home of the Ainianes that there is to be no return. Nor can it well be addressed, as Plutarch supposes, to the whole body of Ainianian folk. It is the bull presumably and possibly its leaders who are not to return. A possible suggestion is that we have here something in the nature of a scape-goat ritual, but against its easy acceptance is the fact that in that case the motive of the chant would have been obvious, too obvious for Plutarch to miss it, as he patently has done. Unfortunately, we have not sufficient evidence to form any sound opinion as to the true reason.

Question 27

Q. *Why is it that among the Rhodians a herald does not enter the herôon of Okridion?*

A. *Is it because Ochimos affianced his daughter Kydippe to Okridion? But Kerkaphos, who was brother of Ochimos, was in love with the girl, and persuaded the herald (for it used to be the custom to send heralds to escort the bride home), when he received Kydippe, to bring her to him. This was accomplished, and Kerkaphos having got the girl,*

fled with her, but afterwards, when Ochimos had grown old, he returned. But it was established as a custom among the Rhodians for a herald not to approach the shrine of Okridion, because of the wrong done.

There is no direct evidence as to the source of this question. Ultimately it probably comes from some local historian (possibly Zenon, Diodorus, v, 56, 7), of whom at Rhodes there was no lack (see for example the authorities cited in the Lindian temple chronicle). Bethe ("Untersuchungen zu Diodor's Inselbuch", *Hermes*, xxiv, 1884, pp. 429 f.) derives our passage (pp. 431, 446) immediately from Apollodorus.

The story here told is the *aition* of a cult taboo at the shrine of a local hero, who is otherwise unknown. Fick and Bechtel (*Griechische Personennamen*, p. 430) derive his name from ὄκρις (cf. Aeschylus, *P. V.*, 1016 ὀκρίδα φάραγγα) and compare it with Akrisios from ἄκρις = ὄκρις = a hill-top. Akrisios they suppose to be "der Berg- und Burggeist von Argos" (p. 425). Okridion may have been a nature spirit, but in the absence of further information about him, we are not entitled to assume it merely on the strength of his name. The name Hill is not unknown nearer home.

The true reason for the taboo, which resembles in character that in the following Question, it is impossible to recover. The explanation in no way traduces Okridion in representing him as harbouring resentment beyond the grave. Oedipus will not forget his treatment at the hands of the Thebans, when he is become a hero (Sophocles, *O. C.*, 787 f.). On this matter see further Rohde, *Psyche*, i, p. 190, who quotes the instance of Melanippos and Adrastos at Sicyon (Herodotus, v, 67).

The taboo upon the presence of a herald is remarkable because normally heralds were among the minor officials of sacrifice, in which, as Athenaeus (xiv, 79, 660) notes, quoting *Iliad*, iii, 245 and xix, 251, they played an important role in Homeric days. As such they figure in the inscriptions, and are often among the officials for whom specific perquisites are prescribed. For their duties, &c., see Stengel, *Kultusaltertümer*, p. 50.

It could have been wished that Plutarch had been more explicit about the alleged ancient Rhodian custom of sending heralds to escort home the bride. Usually the bride was brought to the bridegroom's house in the evening after the marriage feast, most often in a car drawn by mules, horses, or oxen. In this the bride had a special seat, but she was normally accompanied by the bridegroom and the *paranymphos*, and generally by a procession as well. There were, of course, local variations of custom (e. g. the simulated violence of the Spartan husband in wresting his bride from her mother), but I know of no other example in which the groom did not take part himself or in which the proceedings were not of

too public a character to permit of the bride being diverted to the house of a rival lover.

The brothers Kerkaphos and Ochimos belong to the Heliadai, children of Helios and Rhode, who succeeded the Telchines in the possession of Rhodes. Though attempts are sometimes made to base ethnological speculations upon the legendary history of Rhodes, their foundation is too insecure for them to possess any value at all. "In der in späten Quellen aufgetischten rhodischen Urgeschichte kann keine eigentliche Tradition stecken, alles muss Construction sein, und zwar eine recht junge" (Blinkenberg, "Rhodische Urvölker", *Hermes*, l (1915), pp. 272). Of the soundness of this verdict there can be little doubt. See further Blinkenberg, "'Ρόδου κτίσται", *Hermes*, xlviii (1913), pp. 236–49, and Malten, s. v. Heliadai in *P. W.*, vii, pp. 2849–52.

The number, though not the names, of the seven Heliadai is first attested by Pindar, *Ol.*, vii, 132. The Scholiast gives the list, Ochimos, Kerkaphos, Aktis, Makaros, Kandalos, Triopas, and Phaethon, as the Greeks call him, whom the Rhodians call Tenages. For their mother's name Rhode he quotes Hellanikos. As against the view represented by Robert, *Held.*, p. 383, note 2, that this name alone goes back to Hellanikos, Jacoby argues the probability that the Scholiast took his whole list from the same source. Some support, he argues, is lent by the absence of the name of Elektryone, who is usually added as a sister of the male Heliads (*F. H. G.*, Jacoby, 4, *Frag.* 137). In Hellanikos, for whom Electryone was an Atlantid, mother of Dardanos, Eetion-Iasion, and Harmonia (*F. H. G.*, Jacoby, 4, *Frag.* 23), this omission would be intelligible enough. It cannot be pretended, however, that the evidence is decisive as to whether or not the list of names is as old as Hellanikos.

Of the seven Heliads two only, Ochimos and his successor Kerkaphos, remain in Rhodes. The function of the rest is that of colonizers. According to the received story Aktis, Makaros, Kandalos, and Triopes murdered their brother Tenages and then fled the island. Aktis went to Egypt, where he founded Heliopolis (Steph. Byz., s. v. Ἡλιούπολις) and planted the science of astronomy, which the Heliads had discovered, in the country from which it was said subsequently to have returned to Greece, where, thanks to Deukalion's Flood, the knowledge had been lost. Makar fled to Lesbos, and the remaining brothers to various places on or off the coast of Asia Minor.

The daughter of Ochimos, who married Kerkaphos, is known alternatively as Kydippe (Lysippe in Eustathius, p. 315, 29) or Kyrbe, and she became the mother of Lindos, Kamiros, and Ialysos, who founded the three towns, which bore their names, after the destruction by a tidal wave (the regular *deus ex machina* of Rhodian legend) of the single town Kyrbe, in which the Rhodians had previously lived (Diodorus, v, 51 f.). Ialysos and Dotis in turn

became the parents of Syme (Steph. Byz., s. v. Σύμη, Athenaeus, vii, 47, 296).

There is very little sense to be safely deduced from what is evidently a much manipulated and not very ancient tradition. The pursuit of the wanderings of a Thessalian three-eyed Zeus embodied in the person of Triopes (Mayer in Roscher, *Lex.*, s. v. Triopas) and similar hardy undertakings of the imagination may be left to others. Certain features, however, in our list of names may perhaps be noticed. Both Kydippe and her uncle Phaethon have alternative local names which appear not to be Greek. Kyrbe is a place-name which is found also in Crete, Pamphylia, and, as Kyrbasa, in Caria (see Stoll in Roscher, *Lex.*, ii, p. 1717), and Tenages is the name of an island off the Troad (see Höfer in Roscher, *Lex.*, v, p. 362). There is therefore considerable ground for suspecting these to be genuine pre-Hellenic Cretan-Anatolian names. Kandalos may belong to the same category. On the other hand Kerkaphos, Makar, and Triopas are Thessalian Aeolid names. Kerkaphos, if we accept the usual emendation of the MS. Kerphios in Strabo ix, 3, 18, 438, was a son of Aeolus. Makar or Makaros or Makareus and Triops, Triopes, or Triopas are closely associated with the Greek occupation of Lesbos, which already Achilles calls Μάκαρος ἔδος (*Iliad*, xxiv, 544). We may note that even in the Rhodian version Diodorus (v, 61) takes Triopas to Thessaly and thence back to Rhodes again. If we then turn on to Diodorus v, 81, we shall find the same series of names concerned with the diffusion of Greek civilization by foundations on the Anatolian coast, which radiate from the Lesbos of Makareus. Here even Rhodes is indebted to Lesbos for the advent of Leukippos, son of Makareus, whose name may have some connexion with Eustathius's version of Lysippe, for the Greek name of Kyrbe. In fact it can hardly be doubted that we have two tendencious fabrications, one of which attempts to make Aeolic Lesbos the original source of Hellenism on the Anatolian coast, and the other, perhaps a later counterblast (Robert, *Held.*, p. 383), which asserts the rival claim of Rhodes.

Question 28

Q. *What is the reason that among the Tenedians a flute-player may not enter the shrine of Tenes nor may Achilles' name be mentioned in the shrine?*

A. *Is it because when his stepmother slandered Tenes as wishing to lie with her, Molpos the flute-player bore false witness against him, and on this account it befell Tenes to flee to Tenedos with his sister? But as regards Achilles, it is said, that his mother Thetis straitly forbade him to kill Tenes since he was honoured by Apollo, and she made one*

of his slaves surety that he should watch and remind him lest Achilles should kill Tenes unwittingly. But when he overran Tenedos, he pursued the sister of Tenes who was beautiful, and Tenes met him and gave battle in his sister's defence; and she escaped, but Tenes was slain. But Achilles recognized him when he fell, and he slew the slave because although present he did not remind him. But Tenes he buried, where the shrine now stands, and neither does a flute-player enter it nor is Achilles' name mentioned in it.

I have discussed some of the points which are raised by this Question in *C. Q.*, xxi, pp. 37–44. The first part of the *aition*, including the taboo upon flute-players (see Herakleides, *F. H. G.*, Müller, ii, pp. 213–14), was probably contained in Aristotle, *Constitution of the Tenedians* (see Rose, *Frags.* 551–2; *F. H. G.*, Müller, ii, p. 157). But that the second part was contained in Aristotle is improbable. There are some indications that Aristotle's account may have stopped short with the advent of Tenes to Tenedos and, as we shall see, there are definitely Hellenistic traits in Plutarch's version of the death of Tenes.

The extant fragments of local Tenedian historians give us no assistance. Androetas of Tenedos wrote a *Periplus* of the Propontis (*F. H. G.*, Müller, iv, p. 304), and Zoilus a Τενεδίων ἐγκώμιον, of which nothing is known but the name (*F. H. G.*, Müller, ii, p. 84, note). There is no indication that Plutarch was acquainted with either author.

The story of Tenes [1] may be said to fall into three parts, of which I believe the first, though not itself very old, to be the oldest. (1) *The advent of Tenes*, the first part of our *aition*, (2) *the further adventures of Kyknos*, (3) *the death of Tenes*, of which the second part of the *aition* gives one of two alternative forms. With (2) and with the difficult questions as to the nature of the true relation between the story of Tenes, the proverbial Tenedian axe, and the coin-types of Tenedos we are not here immediately concerned. They are discussed in *C. Q.*, xxi, pp. 37 f.

The existence of a cult of Tenes at Tenedos is certain, for Verres robbed the shrine of its cult statue (Cicero, *in Verr.* ii, i, *cf. de nat. deor.*, iii, 39). But for all that, Tenes is probably a fictitious eponym, who has been invented primarily to explain the name Tenedos, οἱονεὶ Τενονέδος. According to the Greeks the original name of the island was Leukophrys, but from Tenes it

[1] See Lykophron, 232 f. with Tzetzes and Scholia; Herakleides Pont., vii (*F. H. G.*, Muller, ii, pp. 213–14); Konon, *Narr.*, 28 (*F. H. G.*, Jacoby, i, p. 199); Apollodorus, *Epit.*, iii, 23–6; Strabo, xiii, 604; Pausanias, x, 14; Diodorus, v, 83; Steph. Byz. s. v. Τένεδος; Schol. *Il.*, i, 38; Eustathius, *Il.*, p. 33, 23; *Od.*, p. 1697, 54, and the glosses of lexicographers and paroemiographers on Τενέδιος ἄνθρωπος, T. αὐλητής, T. βέλος, T. ξυνήγορος, T. πέλεκυς.

was renamed Tenedos. But Tenedos is almost certainly a pre-Greek name (see Fick, *V. O.*, p. 64, where Lycian and Pamphylian analogues are quoted, to which add Tenages, the non-Greek name of a Rhodian Heliad and of an island off the Troad, p. 133 above). What may have happened is that early Greek mariners called the island Leukophrys in their own tongue, but the native name ultimately prevailed (cf. Corcyra, for which the early Greek name was Drepana, but the native name Korkura ultimately prevailed with minor modification such as the usual literary form Kerkura). Tenes, therefore, must in fact be derived from Tenedos, not, as the Greeks thought, Tenedos from Tenes. The *raison d'être* of Tenes is to explain why the island had this non-Greek name.

According to Greek theory the Greek name of the island was changed to Tenedos, it was therefore necessary to bring the eponym to the island from outside. He is given a suitably neighbouring origin upon the adjacent mainland. His father is Kyknos, king of Kolonoi, and his mother Prokleia, a princess of the Trojan royal house. His stepmother is Philonome, the daughter of Tragasos, who is the eponym of Tragasai in the Troad.[1] His sister was Hemithea or, alternatively, though only in late versions, Leukothea (Schol. *Il.*, i, 38; Eustathius, p. 33, 23) or Amphithea (Steph. Byz., s. v. Τένεδος). The motive of his translation to Tenedos is supplied by a variant of the *Potiphar's Wife* theme, a stock instrument of the story-teller for starting a young and virtuous hero upon his required travels, the use of which is as old as the oldest recorded folk-tale, the Egyptian *Two Brothers*.[2] His irate father exposes him together with his sister Hemithea in a floating chest, which is borne to Tenedos.

Two difficulties in this part of the story suggest that it is an artificial invention. The first is the very inadequate motive, for it is not at all clear why Hemithea should have shared her brother's fate merely because she believed in his innocence. The second is that elsewhere in Greek mythology exposure in a floating chest is invariably the consequence of a father's anger at his unmarried daughter's bearing of a child to a god, and the typical persons of such legends are not two adults nor brother and sister, but mother and infant. A suggestion, however, may be made as to why the floating chest came into the story. The divine type of goddess and infant, which is represented by Ino-Leukothea and Melikertes-Palaimon, appears to belong to a pre-Hellenic stratum of Greek religion. Its distribution in Crete, Delos, the Southern Sporades,

[1] There is some variation in the exact relationship of Prokleia to Laomedon. In Schol. *Il.* i, 38 Skamandrodike, elsewhere the mother of Kyknos (Tzetzes, Lykophron, 231), is given as alternative to Prokleia. Polyboia (Eustathius, p. 33, 23; Schol. D, *Il.*, i, 38) or Kalyke (Schol. A., *Il.*, i, 38) are alternatives for Philonome. These variations, which are based either on mistakes or upon genealogical theories, have little importance.

[2] For a recent note on the distribution of this motif see Penzer-Tawney, *The Ocean of Story*, ii, pp. 120 f.

and the Anatolian coast is well attested, and at Carian Kastabos the goddess definitely bore the name Hemithea. Connected with this goddess are hieratic legends of a leap from a cliff or the exposure of mother and son in a floating chest. Further, the two figures appear to form an inseparable divine pair. The cult of Palaimon on Tenedos is attested by Lykophron, 229, and the consequent probability that the pre-Hellenic goddess, who was called Hemithea by the Greeks in Caria, was worshipped in Tenedos is not diminished by the notorious Tenedian double-axe, which almost certainly is a religious survival from the Bronze Age. On these points see Farnell, *H. C.*, pp. 35–47; Halliday, *C. Q.*, *loc. cit.*; and Nilsson, *M. M. R.*, pp. 193 f. I am therefore inclined to think that the eponym was connected with a local divine figure, and that the floating chest of Hemithea thus came to be adapted for use in the story of Tenes.

The story, which we have been discussing, cannot certainly be traced earlier than the lost pseudo-Euripidean play *Tennes*, which was written towards the end of the fifth century, possibly by Critias (Robert, *Held.*, pp. 386–7). On the strength of Steph. Byz., s. v. Τένεδος, the authority of Hecataeus is sometimes claimed for it, but the claim becomes improbable, if any attention is paid to punctuation. There is no mention of Tenes at all in any known epic source. This negative evidence, upon the whole, supports our view that the story of Tenes is not genuine tradition, but an artificial *aition* to explain the name of the island.

The story of the flute-player accomplice of the wicked step-mother is first given by Lykophron, but it was probably contained in Aristotle's *Constitution* (p. 134 above). The story and the taboo is mentioned by Diodorus where the villain is unnamed. Apollodorus and the Scholiast on Lykophron agree with Plutarch in calling him Eumolpos or Molpos. This, however, is a professional rather than a personal name.

The taboo upon flute-players, the existence of which there is no reason to question, in general character resembles that mentioned in the preceding Question. Like heralds, flute-players were normally present at a Greek sacrifice, and the absence of the flute and garlands was a sign of mourning (Stengel, *Kultusaltertümer*, p. 111). Hence Herodotus (i, 132) notes it as peculiar that at Persian sacrifices no flutes or garlands were used. Exceptions to the general rule, however, were not unknown in Greek cult (Plutarch, *de aud. poet.*, ii, 16 C; *non poss. suau. uiu. sec. Epicur*, 21, 8, 1102 A), and a particular instance is afforded by the cult of the Charites at Paros, where the absence of flute and garlands was accounted for by the story that Minos received the news of the death of Androgeos, while sacrificing to them (Plutarch, *praec. san.*, 19, 132 E, Apollodorus, iii, 15, 7).

The second part of Plutarch's *aition* deals with the taboo on the name of Achilles, which is explained by the story of *the death*

of Tenes. A parallel to the taboo is provided by the rule at the sanctuary of Asklepios at Pergamos, where though the hymns began with Telephos, the name of his son Eurypylos might not be mentioned in the temple, because Eurypylos had slain Machaon (Pausanias, iii, 26, 10). As Farnell (*H. C.*, p. 341) rightly points out, the taboo upon mentioning the name of Achilles cannot possibly be prior to the epic. We may add that since Tenes is unknown to epic and the stories of his death appear to be later imitations of epic incidents, it may well be very much later.

There are two versions of the death of Tenes. Both agree that he was slain by Achilles, in spite of a warning by Thetis that Tenes was especially dear to Apollo and must on no account be slain. Here we may notice that tradition is unanimous in associating Tenes with Apollo and with no other Greek god; all attempts therefore to connect him with Zeus or with Dionysos go directly against such evidence as we have (see *C. Q.*, xxi, p. 39).

The version which is found in Pausanias, Diodorus, and Apollodorus, *Epitome*, seems to represent the main Peripatetic tradition. Here the Greek fleet, on its way to Troy, puts in at Tenedos; Tenes endeavours to keep them off with stones; Achilles lands and kills Tenes as he defends his country. Of the sister there is no mention. Here the circumstances of the death of Tenes have the appearance of being modelled upon the killing of Kyknos by Achilles, a famous epic theme, which Aeschylus used for tragedy (Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 963, and see Roscher, *Lexikon*, ii, pp. 1695–7, s. v. Kyknos (2); Robert, *Held.*, pp. 1119 f.).

The second version, which is shared by Plutarch and the Scholiast upon Lykophron, makes of the story an ἐρωτικὸν πάθημα in the Hellenistic vein. Achilles pursues the fair Hemithea, who escapes or is swallowed by the earth; Tenes is slain in defence of his sister's honour. Robert is probably right in supposing that the model here is the epic incident of the pursuit of Polyxena and the slaughter of Troilos (Robert, *Held.*, p. 1121). Again the warning of Thetis is amplified by the incident of the forgetful slave, which appears first in Lykophron. But thanks to Eustathius (*Od.*, p. 1697, 54, ἐδόθησαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις τῶν ἡρώων μνήμονες), who gives us four other examples of this literary device, we know that the *mnemon* was a stock *cliché* with those later writers, who served up epic matter with fresh trimmings. It is difficult, therefore, to resist the conclusion that the second half of our *aition* derives from some romantic Hellenistic source.

Question 29

Q. *Who is the Poletes among the Epidamnians?*

A. *The Epidamnians, being neighbours of the Illyrians, perceived that the citizens, who mingled with them, were*

becoming corrupted with democratic ideas and feared a revolution. So with regard to such commercial contracts and exchanges, they chose every year one of the men of proven worth among them, who visited the barbarians and provided a market and arranged sales for all citizens. This official was called poletes.

Aristotle, *Constitution of the Epidamnians*, is nowhere attested by direct citation, but on the strength of *Politics*, ii, 7, 3, 1267 b, iii, 16, 1, 1287 a, v, 1, 10, 1301 b, v, 4, 7, 1304 a, it is included by Müller (*F. H. G.*, ii, p. 149) in the list. If, as therefore seems probable, it existed, it may well be the source from which Plutarch is here drawing. This is the view of Giessen (*op. cit.*, pp. 456–7).

The technical term πονηρούς betrays an oligarchic source. Epidamnos, according to Aristotle, retained, even in his time, markedly oligarchical features, and the *demos* of Thucydides (i, 24) may be suspected of being democratic only in contrast to its foe, a *dynasteia* (ἐξεδίωξε τοὺς δυνατούς). Indeed the democratic development at Epidamnos appears to have been but relative. The replacing of the committee of the heads of tribes by a *Boule* was but a partial change, and in particular the single magistracy was retained until Aristotle's time (*Politics*, iii, 16, 1, 1287 a, v, 1, 10, 1301 b). The reference to the status of artisans as public slaves (*Politics*, ii, 7, 3, 1267 b), the mention of the revolution supported by τοὺς ἐκτὸς τῆς πολιτείας (*Politics*, v, 4, 7, 1304 a), and the statement of Aelian (*Var. Hist.*, xiii, 16) that, in contrast to the Apolloniates who practised *xenelasia*, Ἐπιδάμνιοι δὲ ἐπιδημεῖν καὶ μετοικεῖν παρεῖχον τῷ βουλομένῳ, point to the existence of a small class of politically privileged and a large unprivileged proletariat, including a number of resident aliens.

That party strife in Epidamnos was remarkable for its disastrous violence and that the conflicting factions did not shrink from appealing to barbarian aid, we know from Thucydides (i, 24). In itself this is no unusual feature of Greek political warfare. We are reminded of the exiled Samian oligarchs who effected their return in 440 B.C. with the help of Pissouthnes (Thucydides, i, 115), or of the significant phrase in the Erythrai inscription (Hicks and Hill, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 32) οὐδὲ τῶν φευγόντων καταδέχσομαι οὐδὲ ἕνα οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἐγὼ οὔτ' ἄλλωι πείσομαι τῶν ἐς Μήδους φυγόντων. In the troubles, which immediately led to the conflict between Corinth and Corcyra, it was apparently the oligarchs, not the democratic party, who sought and obtained Illyrian help (Thucydides, i, 24).

The Epidamnian *poletes* is unique, nor have we any record of any similar functionary to act between Greek colonists and natives elsewhere. This may, of course, be an accident of our records. The Greek trader seems never to have penetrated far into the

interior as did the Roman *negotiator*. (On this see Gwynn, 'The Character of Greek Colonisation,' *J. H. S.* xxxviii, 1918, p. 108.)

The Epidamnian *poletes* in no way corresponds to the *poletai* of Athens, a tribal board of ten, each member of which was chairman in turn for a single prytany, whose duties included the conduct of the sales of confiscated goods and the management of the state rents for mines (see Busolt, *Staatskunde*, pp. 483, 488, 1141 f.). The title *poletes* is known from inscriptions elsewhere, e.g. at Halikarnassos, Rhodes, Kos, and Delphi, though only on the south-west coast of Asia Minor and at Delphi (Swoboda in Busolt, *op. cit.*, p. 483, n. 5). But everywhere, except at Epidamnos, the *poletai* were officials in charge of some portion of the financial administration of the state (see further Glotz in Daremberg et Saglio, iv, p. 542, s. v. Poletai).

Question 30

Q. *What is the Beach of Arainos in the Thracian district?*

A. *The Andrians and the Chalkidians sailing to Thrace to settle there, jointly seized the city of Sane, which was treacherously surrendered to them; then, learning that the barbarians had evacuated Akanthos, they sent out spies. Now when they drew near to the town and perceived that the enemy had completely fled, the Chalkidian ran ahead with the intention of seizing the city for the Chalkidians, but the Andrian, failing to overtake him, cast his spear and fixed it in the gates, and with a great shout cried, 'The city has been first taken by the spear for the sons of the Andrians.'*

From this a dispute arose, but without going to war they agreed to employ Erythraeans and Samians and Parians as arbitrators about the whole matter. Now when the Erythraeans and the Samians gave their votes to the Andrians, but the Parians gave theirs to the Chalkidians, the Andrians swore an oath against them about that place, never to give a woman in marriage to the Parians nor to take one from them. And upon this account the place was called 'the Beach of Arainos', having before been named 'the Beach of the Serpent'.

The field for speculation as to the source of this question is too indefinite for guessing to be very profitable. The story might have occurred in a treatise upon Akanthos, or the Thracian district, or Andros, or Paros, or even Chalkis. It is possible that it came from the *Constitution of the Chakidians* (see Question 22, p. 112) or from that of the Parians, the existence of which is attested by

Sopater in Photius, *Bibl.*, 161 (cf. Heracleides, *F. H. G.*, Müller, ii, p. 214). But of the *Constitutions* that Χαλκιδέων τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκῃ is the most probable, if these were really settlers from Chalkis, and not a local tribe, and if Müller is right in assuming the existence of the work upon the strength of *Politics*, ii, 9, 9 (*F. H. G.*, Müller, ii, 153). In the absence, however, of any real clue to its provenance the problem must frankly be left unsolved.

That Akanthos was reckoned a colony of Andros is attested by Thucydides, iv, 84. For the current view of the colonization of Chalkidike see Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*[2], ii, p. 465. The towns on Pallene were mainly of Eretrian foundation. On Athos Andros, which was then a dependency of Eretria, founded Sane, Akanthos, Stagiros, and Argilos. Olynthos, Torone, and Kleonai, on the other hand, were Chalkidian. "Allmählich haben, wie im Mutterlande, so auch hier die Chalkidier das Übergewicht erhalten; nach ihnen wird die ganze Halbinsel benannt." Mr. Harrison, however, has shown grave reasons for questioning this view (*C. Q.*, vi, 1912, pp. 93–103, 165–78), and a considerable probability that οἱ ἐπὶ Θράκης Χαλκιδῆς were a tribe like the Bottiaeans. But even he would not dispute (p. 168) that settlers from Chalkis in Euboea may have taken a minor part in the settlement of Sane, Akanthos, and Stagiros.

The name Arainou Akte is not otherwise known. There was a village in the Peloponnese called Ἀράϊνον (Pausanias, iii, 24, 10), and Suidas (Gaisford, p. 548 B) gives Ἀραῖνος· ὄνομα ποταμοῦ, without further indication. What the word means is unknown, for the derivation from ἄρα, *a curse*, is obviously a piece of popular etymology with even less intrinsic probability than that which derived the name of the small islands called Arai, which lay off the Ionian coast, from curses pronounced by the Dorians against the inhabitants of the Pentapolis (Athenaeus, vi, 82, 262 E; Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἀραί).

With the symbolic throwing of the spear by the Andrian we may perhaps compare the Spartan saying (Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.*, 15), which is attributed by Pseudo-Plutarch, *Apoptheg. Lacon.*, to Agesilaos (210 E), Antalkidas (217 E), and Archidamos, son of Agesilaos (218 F), νομίζειν πᾶσαν ἰδίαν ἧς ἂν τὸ δόρυ ἐφικνῆται.

Though the etymology of the place-name is suspect, there is no reason to question the soundness of the historical tradition embodied in the *aition*, and this possesses some interest for the historian of arbitration. Upon the general topic of the development and importance of arbitration by a third party in inter-state disputes see Adcock, "Some Aspects of Greek Diplomacy", *Proceedings of the Classical Association*, xxi, January, 1924. This is one of the earliest known examples. The alleged offer of the Messenians to submit the matters in dispute in the First Messenian War to arbitration (Pausanias, iv, 5, 2) may be thought to be apocryphal, but with our example may be classified the settlement

of the dispute between Athens and Mytilene (Herodotus, v, 95; Strabo, xiii, 38, 600; Diogenes Laertius, i, 74), also in the seventh century, and the arbitration between Athens and Megara on the question of Salamis (Plutarch, *Solon*, 10) in the sixth century. Upon this see further Tod, *Greek International Arbitration*, pp. 174–5.

For variations in the phraseology employed to express the agreed terms of reference of the final decision to specified arbitrators see Tod, *op. cit.*, pp. 75–6, where all the available literary and epigraphical evidence is summarized.

Five other cases are known of arbitration by a mixed court consisting of representatives of two or more states. These are:

(i) Tod, No. xvi = *I. G.*, vii, 189, third century, disputants Pagae and a neighbouring state, arbitrators Achaeans and Sicyonians.

(ii) Tod, No. xxviii = Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1905, No. 1, pp. 55 f., third century, disputants Stratos and Agra, arbitrators ten Aetolians and ten Akarnanians.

(iii) Tod, No. xxxiv = *I. G.*, ix, 2, 89 = Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 674, second century, disputants Narthakians and Meliteans, arbitrators Samians, Kolophonians, and Magnetes.

(iv) Tod, No. lvii = *C. I. G.*, 3598, second century, disputants Ilion and neighbours, arbitrators Rhodes, Delos, Paros, and another.

(v) Tod, No. lxx = *S. G. D. I.*, 5493, end of fourth century, disputants Miletus and Myous, arbitrators Erythrai, Chios, Klazomenai, Lebedos, and Ephesus.

The question of how such mixed courts arrived at a verdict is discussed by Tod, *op. cit.*, pp. 129–31. In our example it is clear that the court consisted of three panels which recorded their votes independently. I should agree with Tod that a similar procedure is indicated in (iii), where the Narthakians claim to have been successful *ἐπὶ τριῶν δικαστηρίων, ἐπὶ Σαμίων, Κολοφωνίων, Μαγνήτων*. The three panels were unanimous. But whether such mixed courts always voted in groups is uncertain. There may have been cases where the court was set up and the verdict of the majority of the individual members of it, irrespective of their citizenship, may have decided the issue. This is more likely to have been the case where, as in (iv), the number of arbitrating states was even. On the other hand, I do not know that there is any evidence to show that any particular mixed court actually did vote in this way by heads, whereas voting by panels consisting of the representatives of the cities concerned is here attested and may have been universally the rule.

Question 31

Q. *Why is it that at the Thesmophoria the women of Eretria do not roast the flesh at the fire but in the sun, and do not call on Kalligeneia?*

A. *Is it because it happened to the female prisoners, whom Agamemnon brought from Troy, to sacrifice the Thesmophoria there, but a fair voyage appearing, they were suddenly taken away, leaving the sacrifice uncompleted?*

As an explanation of ritual custom Plutarch's *aition* is worthless. It illustrates the very strong tendency to explain local peculiarities by Homeric or epic tradition, of which there are many other examples in the Questions. Here the ultimate source must be local Euboean tradition, for in all the epic versions of the return of the Atreids Agamemnon was blown south after the storm in which Ajax perished at Kaphareus. None of the received versions can have brought him as far up the strait as Eretria. The same or a similar anomaly is implied in the story of the Achaeans and Nauplios in Question 33. There is a possibility that Questions 22 and 33 may be derived from Aristotle, *Constitution of the Chalkidians*, but there is no obvious reason why the Eretrian *Thesmophoria* should be mentioned in that work. No direct citations from a *Constitution of the Eretrians* exists, but Müller (*F. H. G.*, ii, p. 142) includes it on the strength of *Politics*, iv, 3, 2, and v, 2, 9, and the fact that Heracleides (*F. H. G.*, Müller, ii, p. 217), who draws mainly on the Aristotelian *Constitutions*, deals with that of Eretria. Of other possibilities, for Archemachos of Euboea see above p. 112, Lysanias of Mallus περὶ Ἐρετρίας is quoted by Plutarch, *de Mal. Herod.*, 24, 861 C.

In spite of Herodotus (ii, 171), according to whom the *Thesmophoria* were introduced from Egypt by the daughters of Danaos, were suppressed by the Dorians and survived in the Peloponnese only in Arcadia, it is certain that no religious rite has deeper indigenous roots in Greek soil and that no festival has a wider distribution, independent of any racial restrictions, such as made the *Apatouria* the hall mark of Ionian nationality. In the Peloponnese its existence at Sparta and Gytheion is attested, and it was especially prominent in Dorian Sicily. It is not impossible that the festival represents a religious survival, which the Greeks inherited from their predecessors.

For evidence as to attested cults of Demeter Thesmophoros and the celebration of the *Thesmophoria*, which range from Pantikapaion to Sicily and Campania, see Nilsson, *G. F.*, pp. 313–16; Farnell, *C. G. S.*, iii, pp. 328–32, reference numbers 77–107. With regard to the Campanian cult at Neapolis, Cumae, and Pompeii, we may further add that it is not at all improbable that

they were brought thither from Eretria (see Peterson, *The Cults of Campania*, pp. 10, 64, 185).

References to the considerable literature on the problems connected with the *Thesmophoria* will be found in Roscher's *Lexikon*; Farnell, *C. G. S.*, iii, pp. 75–112; and Nilsson, *G. F.*, pp. 313–29. The names *Thesmophoria* and *Thesmophoros* remain a mystery. Antiquity generally regarded the latter as meaning *legifera*. This is certainly wrong, though the mistake had beneficent consequences in affecting the popular conception of Demeter (*C. A. H.*, ii, p. 639). The fanciful etymology of Verrall, which is adopted by Miss Harrison (*Prolegomena*, pp. 48 f., 136 f.) and provisionally by Professor Murray (*Five Stages of Greek Religion*, p. 30, note), derives θέσμος, θεός, κτλ. from a root θεσ- signifying magical power or *mana*. This has found little support among other scholars.

Although Farnell demurs and would derive *Thesmophoria* from Thesmophoros, I personally feel that there is a good deal of weight in the argument that the analogy of other festivals, e.g. the *Oschophoria*, makes it probable that the cult title is derived from the name of the festival, and that the θεσμοί were some kind of *sacra*, which were carried. Both Nilsson, who adopts this view, and Farnell, who disagrees with it, fall back in the last resort upon the use of θεσμός = θησαυρός in Anakreon (Bergk[4], *Frag.* 58), which can be supported by a passage in Cornutus, 38, p. 56. Farnell, who thinks the cult title to be primary, would then translate it "Bearer of treasure".

Most of the information which we possess about the festival refers to the *Thesmophoria* at Athens. The general character of the proceedings elsewhere will probably have agreed in outline, though it is possible that, if our information were more detailed, we should find local differences and peculiarities in the ritual in different places, such as that which has caught Plutarch's attention at Eretria. Thus the *Thesmophoria* at Cyrene with its *sphaktriai* and blood-offerings (Suidas, s.v. θεσμοφόρος) or the *Megalartia* at Delos must have presented curious differences from the Attic festival. Nor is there any answer to the riddle why the *Thesmophoria* at Delos and Thebes were celebrated in summer (Nilsson, *G. F.*, pp. 324–5, 333–4, 317).

The festival was annual and lasted probably for three days in its original form and in general practice. Three days are attested for Sparta and Abdera. In Syracuse the duration was ten days, but this may have been due to the subsequent incorporation of other festivals. That the Attic festival, which was similarly extended in historical times, had originally been of three days is clearly shown by the fact that the second day, Νηστεία, when the women fasted sitting on the bare ground (Plutarch, *Is. et Os.*, 69, 378 E), was called ἡ μέση.

The third day at Athens was called Kalligeneia. Upon this day, or in our terminology upon the night before, since Greeks

reckoned from sunset to sunset, there probably took place the depositing of the pigs in the underground vault and the removal of the decayed remains of those which had been so deposited the year before, for mixing with the seed corn (Frazer, *ad* Pausanias, ix, 8, 1). I agree with Nilsson (*op. cit.*, p. 31, note 1) that this is more probable than Frazer's later view that the remains were brought up on the first day of the festival, which was called *Anodos*.

The general character of the rites, at which no male might be present, was that of primitive agrarian magic, which was worked by the women of the tribe, who in many primitive societies are responsible for the practical operations of agriculture and are also associated with the fertility of man, beasts, and crops (see Miss Harrison, *Prolegomena*, p. 272, and Frazer, *G. B.* v. *Spirits of Corn and the Wild*, i, pp. 113–30). It is not surprising, therefore, that the ritual retained vestiges of primitive conditions of life (μιμούμενοι τὸν ἀρχαῖον βίον, Diodorus, v, 4). Such were the sitting upon the bare ground during the fast (Nilsson compares the Selloi ἀνιπτόποδες χαμαιεῦναι) or the huts erected on the Pnyx (Schol. Aristophanes, *Thesm.*, 624; Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 319). Similarly, the sun-dried meat, like biltong or pemmican, which the Eretrian women ate, may be, as Nilsson suggests, a survival in conservative ritual of a vanished primitive article of diet. We might compare the insistence in some cults, e.g. that of the Horai at Athens (Philochorus, *Frag.* 171, Müller; Tresp, *F. G. K.*, p. 71, *Frag.* 26), that meat be boiled not roasted, cooked, that is to say, in what was the more ancient way of dressing meat both in Greece and at Rome (cf. Arnobius, *adv. Nat.*, ii, 68).

According to Farnell (*Evolution of Religion*, p. 101) in the *Zend-Avesta* meat which has been cooked by the sun is held to be more sanctified than fire-cooked meat. This reference I have not been able to identify in the translations of the *Zend-Avesta* which are accessible to me.

The third day of the Attic *Thesmophoria*, which went by the name Kalligeneia, was mainly concerned with fruitfulness. Nilsson notes the use of the '*Lebensrute*' (Hesychius μόροττον· ἐκ φλοιοῦ πλέγματι ᾧ ἔτυπτον ἀλλήλους τοῖς Δημητρίοις) and the part played by the Genetullides in the associated Halimusian Mysteries. For the cult title Kalligeneia, which is of wide distribution ("allgemein ionisch", Usener, *Götternamen*, pp. 122 f.), see Adler in *P. W.*, x, p. 163, and Drexler in Roscher, *Lex.*, ii, p. 934. For that it is a cult title of Demeter, comparable to Kalliteknos, a title of Apollo at Pergamon, or Pindar's Καλλίπαιδα Κάβειρον, there can be very little doubt, in spite of the scorn expressed by Miss Harrison (*Prolegomena*, p. 269), for those who are not prepared in this matter to swallow Usener's theory of *Sondergötter* whole. Whether the cult title was derived from the name of the third day of the festival (Farnell, *H. C.*, pp. 91–2) or the name from the cult title

is a question, like that of the ultimate priority of the owl or the egg, which it is not easy to answer.

The primary meaning of the epithet is *the Bearer of a Beautiful Offspring*, but doubtless in practical interpretation it had reference less to the excellence of Kore than to the hopes of the worshippers for equally fortunate child-bearing. Its implication undoubtedly is *Giver of Fair Children.*

The creation of separate subordinate divine personalities from the cult titles of the major deities is quite a common phenomenon in Greek religion. Just as Euboea, Akraia, and Prosymna, originally cult-titles of Hera, became the nurses of the goddess, so Kalligeneia was variously explained as the daughter of Zeus and Demeter, a *daimon* attendant on the goddess, or the nurse of Demeter. Hence in the *Second Thesmophoriazusae* the prologue was delivered by Kalligeneia (Schol. Aristophanes, *Thesm.*, 306), a parody of the regular tragic prologue by the aged servitor, nurse, or *paidagogos* of the royal family.

Question 32

Q. *Who are the Perpetual Sailors among the Milesians?*

A. *When the tyrants with Thoas and Damasenor were abolished, two parties held the city, of which one was called Ploutis, and the other Cheiromacha. Well, the men of substance won and brought affairs into the hands of their faction, and they took counsel about the most important matters, embarking upon their ships and putting out far from the land, and after ratifying their decision they sailed back to land. And on this account they were called Perpetual Sailors.*

A possible source is the Aristotelian, *Constitution of the Milesians*, for the existence of which see Rose, *Frags.* 515, 516. From this or from Plutarch is probably derived Hesychius ἀειναύται· ἀρχῆς ὄνομα παρὰ Μιλησίοις.

The Greek τῶν περὶ Θόαντα καὶ Δαμασήνορα τυράννων καταλυθέντων is, to say the least, very odd. Probably τυράννων is a gloss and should be deleted. It is usually supposed that Thoas and Damasenor were candidates for the tyranny after Thrasybulus, and that the period of party strife, to which Plutarch alludes, is that which Herodotus tells us was concluded by the arbitration of Parians (Herodotus, v, 28). Stein in his commentary upon Herodotus would place this period of *stasis* in the disturbances which followed the abolition of the early Neleid monarchy. In this opinion he is alone and is probably mistaken.

The violence of the Milesian party strife is also mentioned by Heracleides *ap.* Athenaeus, xii, 26, 524 a, who tells of the atrocities

committed by the dominant plutocracy at the expense of the proletariat, who were called *Gergithai*. We appear, then, to have two factions each with two names, *Aeinautai* or *Ploutis* opposed to *Cheiromacha* or *Gergithai*. The violence of this party conflict is perhaps reflected in the poems of Phokylides (*Frags.* 5, 7, 12, Bergk), see Busolt, *Gr. Geschichte*, ii, p. 472.

Ploutis, the party of wealth, presents no difficulty, but *Aeinautai* has given rise to considerable speculation. The word also occurs upon two inscriptions from Chalkis (Roehl, *I. G. A.*, 375, now lost, and Wilhelm, *Beiträge z. gr. Inschriftenkunde*, 1909, p. 123 [δεδόχθ]αι τῶι κοινῶι Ἀεναυ[τῶν ἐπαινέσαι κτλ.]).

Plutarch's explanation may clearly be dismissed as an "etymological myth" (Gilbert, *Handbuch*, ii, p. 139). Almost equally improbable is the view of Helbig, which is rightly rejected by Ormerod (*Piracy in the Ancient World*, p. 96) that the *Aeinautai* represented an early form of sea police. Nor am I inclined to believe the alternative explanations which attempt to solve our problem by the analogy of the Athenian *naukraroi*. Wachsmuth, I think, was the first to suggest the etymology ἀεί and ναύτης = ναιέτης from ναίω, a form supported by the Aeolic ναῦος for ναός (Gilbert, *Handbuch*, ii, p. 139; Szanto in *P. W.*, i, p. 477). Upon this theory the word means the persons who dwell permanently at the public hearth. Others, who do not, like Wachsmuth, necessarily deny a connexion of the *naukraroi* with ships, have emphasized their political importance in early Attica and regard the *Aeinautai* as analogous officials. Wilamowitz (*Sitzungsberichte Berlin. Akad.*, 1906, p. 78), on the other hand, equates *naukraroi* and *aeinautai*, but supposes that both offices took their name from the liability of the holders to keep the war-fleet in commission.

But the simplest explanation may be thought the most probable. In spite of Hesychius I agree with Miss Dunham (*History of Miletus*, pp. 128–9) that it is very doubtful if *Aeinautai* is the title of a magistracy or office. I disagree with her in seeing no necessity to speak of guilds. *Aeinautai* is surely not an inappropriate nickname for the party of the merchant aristocracy (Busolt, *Staatskunde*, i, pp. 177, 211; Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, ii, p. 366).

The names of the party of the proletariat raise no serious difficulty. *Gergithai* is a racial name. In Herodotus the Gergithai are natives of the Troad who were considered to be descendants of the ancient Teukroi (Herodotus, v, 122, vii, 43; cf. Strabo, xiii, i, 70, 616); for Gergithai in Aeolis see Strabo, xiii, 1, 19, 589. The name, used as a derisive term of contempt, is therefore derived from the existence of a native element in the population of Miletus. For the strong native admixture in the lower classes of the Anatolian coast towns see Hogarth, *C. A. H.*, ii, pp. 548 f. The most important native element in Miletus was, of course, Carian.

Χειρομαχία in Greek was used of artificial as opposed to natural creation. Thus of the fig-tree in Charybdis Eustathius (p. 1716, 4) says εἴωθε γὰρ εἰκῇ ὅποι ποτὲ τύχῃ αὐτοφυῶς καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ χειρομαχίας τὸ τοιοῦτον φυτὸν γίνεσθαι. χειρομάχα then does not, as Liddell and Scott, eighth edition, suggest, mean "the physical-force faction" but merely "the artizans". πένης δὲ ὁ χερσὶ πονούμενος καὶ οὕτω ζῶν· τοὺς δὲ τοιούτους χειρομάχαν πληθὺν ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Ἀθηναίου εὑρεῖν, Eustathius, p. 1833, 56; cf. *id.*, pp. 1425, 64, 1783, 13.

Question 33

Q. *Why do the Chalkidians call the place round the Beacon (Pursophion) 'the Club-house of the Young Men'?*

A. *They say that Nauplios, when pursued by the Achaeans, made supplication to the Chalkidians, defending himself on some points of the indictment and meeting others with counter-accusations against the Achaeans. The Chalkidians had no intention of giving him up. But fearing that he might be murdered by treachery, they gave him as a body-guard the young men who were in the prime of life, and they stationed them in this place, where they lived together and at the same time protected Nauplios.*

As already noticed (p. 142 above) the usual epic tradition represented the survivors of the storm at Kaphareus as being dispersed in a southerly direction to Tenos, Mykonos, and even to the African coast (Robert, *Held.*, p. 1452). Here once more there appears to be subsequent action by the returning Achaeans north of Kaphareus, and Robert (*Held.*, p. 1293) is probably correct in his diagnosis of "eine junge Chalkidische Lokalsage". It is possible that Plutarch's source is the Aristotelian *Constitution of the Chalkidians*, and it is probable that this and Question 22 are from the same source (see above, p. 112).

Lesche means primarily a place where people converse. One may suspect some corruption in the name *Pursophion*. Wyttenbach's derivation, *quasi* πῦρ σοφῶν, a fire round which philosophers conversed, is clearly beside the mark. Bursian (*Geographie*, ii, p. 415, n. 1) suggests Πυρσοφορεῖον, a word not otherwise attested. Professor Rose's suggestion to me that πυρφορεῖον may mean "place or residence of the priest called πυρφόρος" does not seem to me very probable.[1] For, whatever the true form of the name may be, I am pretty sure that Bursian is right that it denoted

[1] For πυρφόρος, πυροφορέω, πυροφόρος see Xen., *Lac. Pol.*, 13, 2; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 735, 842, 995: the female πύρφορος who carried the sacred fire from Delphi to Athens, *ibid.*, 711 D, 728 I. But I see no reason why such a person should have had an official residence named after his duties.

a beacon or watch-tower. For the prevalence of such beacons and watch-towers on the coasts of Greece and the islands see Ormerod, *Piracy in the Ancient World*, pp. 45 f.

That Nauplios Purkaeus (for whom see the references in Roscher, *Lexikon*, s.v. and Pearson-Jebb, *Fragments of Sophocles*, ii, pp. 80 f.) should be connected with such a beacon is appropriate enough. Clearly a post in Chalkis could not be the one from which he lured his enemies to destruction, and hence a supplementary sequel became necessary.

Although I can think of no very close analogy, the general type of place-name represented by Akmaion Lesche is not uncommon. One might compare Ἀχαίων ἀκτή in Cyprus ὅπου Τεῦκρος προσωρμίσθη πρῶτον ὁ κτίσας Σαλαμῖνα τὴν ἐν Κύπρῳ (Strabo, xiv, 682), or perhaps Εὐσεβῶν χώρα, a name attributed alternatively to Tauromenium or Catina (see *Aetna*, 604 f. and Ellis's note to 612).

Question 34

Q. *Who is the man who sacrificed an ox to his benefactor?*

A. *A pirate vessel in which there happened to be an old man with earthenware jars containing pitch, came to anchor off Ithaka. An Ithakesian ferryman named Pyrrhias by chance put off to her, and with no ulterior motive ransomed the old man, being persuaded by him and pitying his plight. He also took some of the jars at the old man's bidding. But when the pirates had gone off, and there was naught to fear, the old man brought Pyrrhias to the jars and showed him that they contained a lot of gold and silver mixed up with the pitch. When Pyrrhias, therefore, became suddenly rich, not only did he treat the old man well in other respects but also sacrificed an ox to him. Whence arose the current proverb 'nobody sacrificed an ox to his benefactor except Pyrrhias'.*

In the monograph, to which reference is made below, Dr. Bees locates this story at the Ithacesiae Insulae off Calabria (for which see Pliny, *N. H.*, iii, 85 ; Oldfather in *P. W.*, ix, 2, p. 2289). This is an example of the dangers of erudition. Ithakesios is the ethnic or Ithaka and Pyrrhias is a good North-western Greek name. The most probable source of our story is Aristotle, *Constitution of the Ithakesians*, from which Question 14 is certainly (p. 79 above) and Question 43 (p. 180 below) may be in part derived.

The story is given also by Heracleides (*F. H. G.*, Müller, ii, p. 223), and the fragment of that author which immediately precedes it is explicitly derived from Aristotle (*Et. Mag.*, s. v. Ἀρκείσιος). That this kind of matter was contained in the *Consti-*

tutions is shown by the explanation of τὸ Μηλιακὸν πλοῖον in the *Constitution of the Malians* (*Frag.* 513, Rose). Giessen is therefore probably right (*op. cit.*, pp. 457–60) in deriving this question from the *Constitution of the Ithakesians.*

Πλοῖον is the regular word for a pirate vessel, see Ormerod, *Piracy in the Ancient World*, p. 20. For pirates off Ithaka and in the Leukas channel in Homeric and in medieval times alike see *ibid.*, pp. 24, 74. For piracy in Ithaka by Agathocles see Plutarch, *de ser. num. vind.*, 557 C, cf. *reg. et imp. apophtheg.* 176 F.

The story belongs to folk-tale not to history, and it is of some interest as the earliest literary appearance of a *motif* which frequently occurs in medieval romances. The hero is taken by pirates, he is given to the Sultan whose affection he wins, and during the course of his service he finds a buried treasure. When his master rewards his services with freedom, he succeeds in smuggling this treasure secretly out of the country in a cargo of salt or pitch. The treasure is often subsequently used for the building of a khan, hospital, or monastery, which usually serves as the instrument of *anagnorisis* between the hero and the lady love from whom his capture separated him. This tale sometimes figures in the foundation legends of historical buildings, e. g. the monastery of Daphni near Athens. In this connexion the story is discussed with much erudition by Bees, "Der französisch-mittelgriechische Ritterroman 'Imberios und Margarona' und die Gründungssage des Daphniklosters bei Athen", *Texte und Forschungen zur Byzantinisch-Neugriechischen Philologie*, No. 4, Berlin, 1924, pp. 53, 68 f., 96. An adaptation of the same story will be found in Gaster, *Exempla of the Rabbis*, No. 370.

The alleged action of Pyrrhias in offering an animal sacrifice to a living man is indeed very remarkable.

Question 35

Q. *Why was it the custom for the Bottiaean maidens to call as they danced 'Let us go to Athens'?*

A. *They say that the Cretans in accordance with a vow sent a firstfruit of men to Delphi, but those who were sent, saw that there was not plenty for them there and set out thence to found a colony. And first they settled in Iapygia and afterwards occupied this region of Thrace. Now there were Athenians mingled with them. For it seems that Minos did not destroy the young bachelors whom the Athenians sent as tribute, but kept them by him as servants. Some of their descendants, therefore, who indeed counted as Cretans, were among those sent to Delphi. Whence the daughters of the Bottiaeans in memory of their ancestry were wont to sing at the festivals, 'Let us go to Athens'.*

Here there is fortunately no doubt about the source. Plutarch made use of his note in *Theseus*, 16, where he definitely states his authority to be Aristotle, *Constitution of the Bottiaeans* (Rose, *Frag.* 443).

Bottia or Bottiaea was a narrow wedge of territory between the lower Axios and the united waters of Lydias and Haliakmon. But before the Persian War, perhaps as early as the seventh century, the expansion of Macedon had ejected the Bottiaeans, who found new homes in and near the peninsula of Chalkidike. Their historical, as opposed to their original habitat, which retained its name, was called Bottike (Herodotus, vii, 127, viii, 127; Thucydides, ii, 99). The ancient theory that the Bottiaeans were ultimately of Cretan origin (οἱ μὲν ἐκ Κρήτης, ὥς φασι, τὸ γένος ὄντες, ἡγεμόνα ἔχοντες Βόττωνα, Strabo, vii, *Frag.* 11; cf. *Et. Mag.*, 206, 6) may have been suggested by correspondences in place-names (Axios, Gortynia, Europos, &c.), which have been used by moderns to justify it (Oberhummer in *P. W.*, ii, p. 2630). What ethnological history really lies behind these and similar correspondences remains, however, completely obscure. Interesting as they may be as tests of ingenuity, the reconstructions of the ethnological map of the Eastern Mediterranean from the evidence of place-names are necessarily so speculative as to be of little objective value. For our knowledge of any definite facts upon which to base our interpretation is scanty indeed, and any certain clues to their chronological arrangement are completely lacking.

The Iapygians and the related tribes of South Italy were almost certainly of Illyrian origin and may have come into Italy by land, possibly in connexion with the immigration of the Veneti (Homo, *Primitive Italy*, p. 53. On the Messapian tribes see Conway, in *C. A. H.*, iv, p. 446, and the relevant bibliography). But the Greeks believed these inhabitants of Southern Italy to be derived from immigrations of Aetolians, Arcadians, or Cretans. "All dies sind griechische Sagen und beweisen nur, wie Mommsen wiederholt bemerkt, dass sich die Iapyges als Halbgriechen, wie die Kreter, Ätolier, Arkader und Bottiäer fühlten, und den Griechen näher standen als den Italikern, was ihre Sprache bestätigt" (Philipp in *P. W.*, ix, p. 736). For the evidence of place-names with regard to the Illyrian connexions of the Iapygians see Fick, *V. O.*, pp. 24, 82, 142, 143, and for Illyrian-Thracian associations Fick, *Hatt. und Dan.*, pp. 29 foll.

Iapyx was said by some to be the son of Daedalus by a Cretan woman (Strabo, vi, 3, 2, 279; Pliny, *N. H.*, iii, 11, (16), 102). The Iapygians were degenerate and luxurious descendants of the Cretans who came to search for Glaukos (Athenaeus, xii, 24), or, the most usual version, they were survivors from the ill-fated Sicilian expedition of Minos (Ephoros *ap.* Strabo, *loc. cit.*).

Another version (Seruius, *Aen.*, iii, 332) synchronizes the colonizing settlement of Southern Italy by Iapyx with the alleged

Cretan settlement on Parnassos, which brought Apollo Delphinios to Delphi. Brindisi, according to Strabo, was founded alternatively, λέγεται γὰρ ἀμφοτέρως, by Cretans, who came from Cnossos with Theseus or by those who came from Sicily with Iapyx. Thence they subsequently migrated to Bottiaea (Strabo, vi, 3, 6, 282). That the Cretan-Iapygians, or some of them, migrated by land round the Adriatic and settled ultimately in Bottiaea was stated by Ephoros (*loc. cit.*), and the same version appears to be the foundation of the story in Konon, 25, which adds the incident of the *traditio per terram* through the acceptance by the immigrants of the mud pies offered to them by the native children (see Questions 13, 22, pp. 76, 113 above).

Historically all these variant versions are equally valueless. That which Aristotle followed seems to have combined Strabo's first alternative foundation of Brindisi with a connexion with Delphi of which there is a trace elsewhere only in Seruius. But the story raises an interesting and obscure problem of which my own solution is that for once Greek legend has been influenced by Italic custom. ἀπαρχή, for the meaning of which see Question 6 above, is here equivalent to *primitiae* and εὐχή to *uotum*. In fact, what is described, with slight distortion due to its Greek dress, is the *uer sacrum* of the Italic peoples, in accordance with which the human members of the tribe, who were born in the year of which the produce has been declared dedicate, were sent out to find new homes (see Warde Fowler, *Rel. Exp.*, pp. 204–5; Wissowa, *R. K. R.*, pp. 54, 132). Now Dionysios of Halikarnassos (i, 16) introduces his account of the practice with the words ἔθος ἐκπληροῦντες ἀρχαῖον ᾧ πολλοὺς βαρβάρων τε καὶ Ἑλλήνων ἐπίσταμαι χρησαμένους, but that it was ever in fact a Greek custom I am inclined to doubt. That the most famous historical instance of the declaration of a *uer sacrum* by the Romans was ordered by the Sibylline Books (Livy, xxii, 10) is no good argument for the existence of the *uer sacrum* in Greece, where it was certainly not practised at the time of the Second Punic War. The chorus in Euripides (*Phoenissae*, 211) to which Wyttenbach refers, does not in fact provide a true analogy. But it is true that a case can be made out (see Farnell, *C. G. S.*, iv, pp. 200–3) for traces of a practice resembling the *uer sacrum* in primitive Greece. In its favour is the fact that all the stories follow the form in our Question which differs slightly from the Italic practice. In every case the procedure is to dedicate a tithe of captives to the god at Delphi; they are then sent out by the god to find a new home. The other instances are the stories of the Dryopians in Messenia (Paus., iv, 34, 9), the foundation of Klaros by Manto and the Theban captives (Paus., vii, 3, 1), the foundation of Rhegium by the Chalkidians (Diodorus, viii, *Frag.* 23; Strabo, vi, 1, 6, 257), and possibly the foundation of Magnesia on the Maeander (Athenaeus, iv, 74, 173 E–F; Parthenius, *Narr. Am.*, 5). Now all these tales belong

to the apocryphal genus of foundation legends, and I notice that out of the six possible examples the two clearest accounts are both concerned with Italian settlements. Since there is no evidence of any actual happening of this nature in Greece in historical times, I am inclined to suspect that this formula was first invented by the Italian Greeks, probably at Rhegium, on the model of the Italic practice. Clearly the question is one of those which cannot be definitely decided upon the existing evidence and two opinions are possible.

Given the theories of the Cretan origin of the Iapygians and the Iapygian origin of the Bottiaeans, it is not difficult to account for the genesis of the story that some of these folk were descended from the Athenian victims of Minos. It is clearly an example of Athenian manipulation of legend for political purposes, the motive of which here lay in the interest of imperial Athens in τὰ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης. Analogies are not difficult to find. We might compare the political use of the link between Athens and the Ionian Islands which Kephalos provided (Question 14, p. 81 above), or the story that Athenai Diades in Euboea was a foundation of the Athenian Kekrops (Strabo, x, 446; Pausanias, i, 53; Robert, *Held.*, i, p. 139). A still closer parallel from the same area is the claim that Athenian Akamas, returning from Troy, had married the Thracian princess Phyllis and received as part of her dowry the country round the *Nine Ways*. To this Aeschines (*de fals. leg.*, 31) appealed before Philip of Macedon in justification of the Athenian claim to Amphipolis.

"Let us go to Athens" was doubtless the genuine refrain of a Bottiaean singing game. But such songs are not necessarily of the very ancient origin, which modern antiquaries, no less than ancient, are fond of assigning to them. The song can hardly antedate the reign of Peisistratos, and more probably may be thought to belong to the fifth century B.C. It implies that Athens is a place of renown, but it has no further necessary racial or political significance.

"Lend me a pin to stick in my thumb
To carry the lady to London town"

is sung in Fifeshire, but the singers do not claim Cockney descent (see Halliday, *Folklore Studies*, p. 114).

Question 36

Q. *Why do the Elean women when they are hymning Dionysos invoke his advent to them with ox-foot? The hymn runs thus: 'Come in springtime, O Dionysos, to thy pure temple by the sea, with the Charites in thy train, rushing with ox-foot.' Then they chant twice, 'Noble bull'.*

A. *Whether is it because some call the god 'ox-born' and 'bull'; or because by 'ox-foot' they mean 'with mighty foot', as the poet uses 'ox-eyed' for 'large eyed' and bougaios for braggart? Or is it rather because the foot of the ox is harmless, but the horned part is harmful, that they thus invoke the god to come to them in gentle and harmless guise. Or is it because many think the god to have been the inventor of the plough and sowing?*

The parallel passage in Plutarch, *de Is. et Os.*, 35, 364 F, quotes the usage of "many Greeks" for the statues of Dionysos Tauromorphos, the Elean hymn and the summons of Dionysos Bougenes by the Argives from the waters (of the Alkyonian Lake at Lerna, Pausanias, ii, 37, 5), into which they threw a young lamb for the Keeper of the Door, by blasts of trumpets, which were concealed in thyrsi.[1]

In the *Isis and Osiris* the authority of the *Treatise upon Rituals* of Socrates of Argos is cited at the end of Plutarch's statement, but whether this applies only to the Argive ritual is not certain. It is indeed not impossible that the Elean cult was dealt with by Socrates in connexion with the ritual of the Argive Dionysos Bougenes, with which it is associated in both passages in Plutarch. If so, the source of this question will be Socrates, whose work has been certainly used in Question 25 and possibly in Questions 23, 24, 50, and 51 (see p. 116 above). That this is the case is the view of Tresp, *F. G. K.*, p. 124.

Before dealing with the ritual at Elis and the difficulties connected with the hymn it may be convenient to dispose of Plutarch's explanations, taking them in the reverse order.

That Dionysos was figured as a bull because he conferred upon mankind the arts of agriculture is orthodox Euhemerist doctrine; compare Diodorus, iii, 64, on Dionysos II, the son of Zeus and Persephone.

Again, the rather puerile allegorizing about the foot of the ox being harmless as opposed to the horns, which are dangerous, is in accordance with the theological methods of Graeco-Roman speculation. Compare, for example, Cornutus, 30, p. 59: *τούτου δὲ ἕνεκεν καὶ θηλύμορφος μὲν πλάττεται, κέρατα δὲ ἔχων, ὡσὰν τοὺς μὲν τόνους ἀποβαλλόντων τῶν μεθυσκομένων, βίᾳ δὲ χρωμένων καὶ δυσκάθεκτόν τι καὶ ὁρμητικὸν ἐχόντων.*

By 'the poet' Homer, of course, is intended, though the epithet *βοῶπις* is used after him by Bacchylides (of Artemis, 10, 99, and of Amphitrite, 16, 110), and by Pindar (of Harmonia, *Pyth.*, iii, 91). In the *Iliad* it is the constant epithet of Hera (*Iliad*, i, 551,

[1] To this Argive use of trumpets and thyrsi there is allusion also in *Quaest. Conuiu.*, iv, 6, 2, 671, where it is compared to Jewish practice, and in Pollux, iv, 86, where the ritual use of trumpets is said to be shared by Argives, Egyptians, Etruscans, and Romans.

κτλ.), but is also applied to mortal women (*Iliad*, iii, 344, vii, 10, xviii, 40). ὁ βοῦς πολὺ μέγεθος παρεμφαίνει ἐν ταῖς συνθέσεσι is the explanation of Eustathius, p. 962 (cf. *Et. Mag.*, s. v. βούπρηστις, p. 209, 20; Hesychius, s.v. βοῦ), who quotes the stock examples βούβρωστις, βούπεινα, βούλιμος, βουθοίνας, βούπαις.

βουγάϊος presents greater difficulty. In current Greek usage it had no doubt acquired the meaning, which Plutarch gives to it, of "boaster", "braggart" (cf. Hesychius, s. v. βουγάϊον). But as Merry and Riddell point out *ad Odyssey*, xviii, 79, this sense fits neither of the two passages in Homer, in which the word occurs. Its application to Ajax (*Iliad*, xiii, 824) implies rather stupidity and clumsiness, that to Iros (*Odyssey*, xviii, 79) cowardice. That this difficulty was felt in antiquity is plain from the discussion of the etymology and meaning of the word in Eustathius, p. 962. Ajax is so called as being δυσκίνητος καὶ μὴ ποδώκης from βοῦς ἐργάτης (cf. Hesychius, s. v. γαῖος) or αὐτόχρημα βοῦς καὶ γῆ. Although the use "braggart" is mentioned by Eustathius, the prevailing connotation of his instances is that of lumpish stupidity, ἄνθρωπος παχὺς καὶ ἀναίσθητος. οἱ δέ φασι ὡς Δουλιχιῶται καὶ Σάμιοι τοὺς γαλακτοφαγούντας καὶ μηδὲν ἰσχυόντας βουγαίους καλοῦσιν.

With our invocation of Dionysos in bull form may be compared the opening of Orphic Hymn XLV (Abel): ἔλθε μάκαρ Διόνυσε, πυρίσπορε, ταυρομέτωπε. Sophocles, *Frag.* 959 (Pearson-Jebb, iii, p. 120), speaks of βουκέρως Ἰάκχος, and Pearson's note contains references to similar epithets in Nikander, the Anthology, and in Roman poets (see also the references in P. R., i, pp. 713–14). The passages which we have already had occasion to quote from *de Is. et Os.* and the handbook of Cornutus, attest the prevalence of images of a horned Dionysos, of which Athenaeus (xi, 51) gives the rationalist explanation that the ancients used ox-horns as drinking vessels. Athenaeus also mentions the tauriform statue at Cyzicus with which may perhaps be associated the gloss in Hesychius, ταυροχολία· ἑορτὴ ἐν Κυζίκῳ. For the art type of Dionysos with horned head or clad in a bull's skin see Farnell, *C. G. S.*, v, p. 252.

To Dionysos Taurophagos bulls were sacrificed and perhaps devoured alive (Bruchmann, *Epitheta Deorum*, 81, 87, 92; Pearson-Jebb, Sophocles, *Frag.* 668 and the references there given), and the βουκόπια θεοδαίσια of Lindian inscriptions are probably Dionysiac (Nilsson, *G. F.*, p. 279). At the winter festival of Dionysos in Kynaitha men seized that bull from the herd, to which they were divinely directed, and carried it to the altar (Pausanias, viii, 19, 2: cf. the kings of Atlantis in Plato, *Kritias*, 119 E). "Es ist hier noch ein Nachklang der Orgien des stiergestaltigen Dionysos" (Nilsson, *G. F.*, p. 299). We have seen that the god was called Bougenes at Argos, and it is possible that the inscription (*I. G.*, vii, 1787), θεοῦ ταύρου, from Thespiae relates to Dionysos, though a possible alternative, as Kern has suggested, is Poseidon.

At Tenedos a pregnant cow was tended as a woman in labour, the new-born calf was then dressed in buskins and was sacrificed to Dionysos Anthroporraistes, a ceremony followed by the flight of the sacrificer, which reminds us of the sequel to the sacrifice in the Attic *Bouphonia* (Aelian, *N. A.*, xii, 44). For the interpretations of this much discussed rite reference may be made to Nilsson, *G. F.*, p. 308, whose view that the calf represented the god himself is much the most probable.[1] Nilsson urges the analogy of orgiastic Orphic cults in which the celebrants tore the live steer in pieces and devoured it raw, even as the Titans had rent and devoured the child Zagreus. (For references to the steer Zagreus see Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, pp. 569 f.; de Visser, *Die nicht-menschengest. Götter der Griechen*, pp. 166, 179.) To such cults belong the instances in which the worshippers are assimilated to the animal form of the god. Thus the women votaries of Dionysos Laphystios in Macedon wore horns on their heads (Schol. Lykophr., 1237), and Aeschylus, *Frag.* 57 (Sidgwick), referring to the Edonian rites of Kottyto, mentions the bull-voiced actors in the sacred drama.

> ταυρόφθογγοι δ' ὑπομυκῶνταί
> ποθεν ἐξ ἀφανοῦς φοβεροὶ μῖμοι.

For Boutes, the Boukoleion, Boukoloi, &c., see Farnell, *C. G. S.*, v, p. 126, and reference no. 34. For further references and discussions of the tauriform Dionysos see Miss Harrison, *Prolegomena*, pp. 431 f.; Farnell, *C. G. S.*, v, cap. v; de Visser, *op. cit.*, p. 36; Voigt in Roscher, *Lex.*, ii, pp. 1055 f.; Kern in *P. W.*, v, pp. 1010 f.; and Frazer, *G. B.*, *Part* v, *The Spirits of the Corn and the Wild*, i, pp. 16 f., 31, and ii, pp. 1–16.

The festival at Elis with which we are concerned was called *Thyia*. It is discussed by Nilsson, *G. F.*, pp. 291 f. Weniger's well known but sadly inaccessible monograph, "Das Kollegium der sechzehn Frauen und der Dionysosdienst in Elis", *Progr. Weimar*, 1883, I have been unable to reread for the purpose of writing this note.

A remarkable feature of our festival was the miraculous creation of wine which followed the god's epiphany. Three sealed and empty jars which had been placed the night before in the sanctuary were found, when the seals were broken, to be filled with wine. Similar though not identical ritual miracles occurred at the *Theodosia* at Andros, an unnamed festival at Teos and perhaps at the *Lampteria* at Pallene. To the same order of ideas belongs the magical vine of Nysa (Sophocles, *Frag.* 255) which was said periodically to go through all the stages of growth and vintage in

[1] Nilsson would also connect the Tenedian axe with this ritual, possibly rightly. Less likely is Prott's view, *Rh. Mus.*, 52 (97), p. 204, that the axe used in sacrifice at Iulis in Keos to which Simonides (*Frag.* 172 *ap.* Athenaeus 456 D) refers as *βουφόνος θεράπων* of Dionysos belongs to the same category. Against Prott's view see Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 305.

a single day, supplying the Maenads at night with an inexhaustible fount of good liquor. I believe that all of these are local survivals from a Dionysiac festival once generally observed in Greece which had its origin, like the Attic *Pithoigia* (February 27) in the ceremonial breaking of the taboo upon the new wine. The date and periodicity of this festival is doubtful. I believe it to have been annual and celebrated in late winter or early spring. It is at least improbable that the Elean month *Thyios* should take its name from a festival celebrated only in alternate years. See my note, *C. R.*, xlii, p. 19.

The Elean women here mentioned are the Sixteen Women (Plutarch, *mul. uirt.*, 251 E) who formed a sacred college exactly similar to that of the Thyiades at Delphi (see Question 12, p. 72 above), of which, it will be remembered, Plutarch's friend Klea was president (*Is. et Os.*, 35, 364 E). As seems to have been the rule in Dionysiac rites (cf. Paus. viii, 23, 1 and above p. 72), they were persons of mature years and are always mentioned as women, never as maidens. Apart from the Attic college of Thyiades, a further analogue may be detected in the eleven Dionysiades at Sparta (Pausanias, iii, 13, 5. See further Weniger, *Über das Collegium der Thyiaden von Delphi*, Eisenach, 1876, pp. 4–5, and Rapp, *Rhein. Mus.*, 27 (72), pp. 1 f.). The lyrical fragment is clearly part of the hymn of invocation to summon the god to his epiphany. For such *anaklesis* see Weniger, *Coll. der Thyiad.*, p. 8, where he notices that a fragment of the analogous Delphic hymn may be detected in Plutarch's phrase: ἔνιον ὀρσιγύναικα μαινομέναις Διόνυσον ἀνθέοντα τιμαῖς ἀνακαλοῦσιν (*de EI ap. Delph.*, 9, 389).

Speculation, naturally, has been busy with this rare fragment of an ancient Greek liturgy. That it has often outrun the evidence and the limits of permissible reconstruction cannot be questioned.

Two points seem to be clear. (1) The festival was probably of an orgiastic character like the rites which raised the dithyramb upon Parnassos. (2) That it celebrated the god's gift of wine. In this second aspect it may be thought to be descended from a type of periodic ceremonial, which is very common in all parts of the world, by which the taboo upon the new crop or vintage is ritually removed (for examples see Frazer, *G. B.*, *Part V*, *Spirits of Corn and Wild*, ii, pp. 48 f.). Such is the most probable explanation of the *Pithoigia* at Athens (Farnell, *C. G. S.*, v, pp. 214–15).

Dieterich (*Eine Mithrasliturgie*, p. 127) suggested that the women were called βόες and that Dionysos was summoned in bull form to the temple 'dass er sie bespringe'. Neither for the nomenclature nor for the proceeding suggested is there a particle of evidence. Dieterich quotes Ovid, *Fasti*, ii, 44, but the strongest of his analogies is the marriage of the wife of the *Basileus* to Dionysos in the Boukoleion at Athens, which did take place at the *Pithoigia*.

Wide (*A. R. W.*, x, 1907, pp. 257–68) argued that because the Sixteen Women had important duties in connexion with the cult of Hera at Elis (see Pausanias, v, 16) that therefore Hera and "the hero Dionysos" were a divine pair of chthonian powers. But in the first place there is no reason necessarily to assume a special connexion of function or character between the deities, because the ritual of both came under the care of the same religious college. The Sixteen Women superintended the choral dances in honour of Phuskoa, who is a Dionysiac figure, and also of Hippodameia, who is not (Pausanias, v, 15, 6–7). In the second place Wide's supposition that both Hera and 'hero' are derived from an appellative meaning 'chthonian' has little to commend it. For a criticism of the view see Farnell, *H. C.*, pp. 15–16.

It is unfortunate that the text of the hymn itself is extremely uncertain. The MSS. appear to give *ἐλθεῖν ἥρω Διόννυσε ἅλιον ἐς ναὸν ἁγνὸν σὺν Χαρίτεσσιν ἐς ναὸν τῷ βοέῳ ποδὶ θύων*. The duplication of *ἐς ναόν* is generally and with reason suspected. Less certain is the usual correction of *ἅλιον* to *Ἀλείων*. It is, of course, an easy emendation, and it may be right. But the MSS. reading makes sense. The town of Elis was not on the sea, but we do not know where this particular ceremony took place, and analogues for the arrival of Dionysos from the sea could be quoted (e. g. Farnell, *C. G. S.*, v, p. 124). But the most considerable difficulty arises from the phrase *ἐλθεῖν ἥρω Διόννυσε*. Grammatically there is no known justification for the vocative *ἥρω*. But further, from the point of view of religious practice 'hero Dionysos' is an unparalleled and almost impossible phrase. *θεῶν δὲ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Διόννυσον σέβουσιν Ἠλεῖοι* (Pausanias, vi, 26, 1) and although Dionysos has chthonian aspects, Nock (*C. R.*, xl, p. 185) is certainly right in maintaining that Dionysos is a god not a hero. I am less happy about the explanation (Pfister, *P. W.*, xi, p. 2131, *Reliquienkult*, pp. 547 f.) of *ἐλθεῖν ἥρω Διόννυσε* as "a survival of the old vague use of *heros* as a courtesy title."

Further, as Mr. Nock points out to me, the fact that Plutarch ignores the necessity for comment upon so curious an appellation suggests that he cannot have read *ἥρω*. The combination of the difficulties of grammar and of sense seem to me to make emendation necessary.

Hartman (*Mnemosyne*, xli, p. 217) has reconstructed the hymn thus:

ἐλθ', ἥρω Διόννυσε, or *ἐλθεῖν, ὦ Διόννυσε,*
Ἀλείων ἐπὶ ναὸν
ἁγνὸν σὺν Χαρίτεσσι,
τῷ βοέῳ ποδὶ θύων·
ἄξιε ταῦρε, ἄξιε ταῦρε.

Here of his alternative first lines I prefer the second, for reasons which will be plain. But I am inclined to welcome the emenda-

tion of Dr. A. B. Cook[1] to which Professor Rose drew my attention. It is adopted by Miss Harrison, *Themis*, p. 205, n. 1. ἐλθεῖν ἦρ' ὦ Διόνυσε, "come, Dionysos, in the spring". The only objection which I can see to its adoption is the current equation of the month *Thyios* with *Dadophorios*. But this equation is itself merely a guess. Further, a spring festival fits well with the MSS. reading ἄλιον.

Professor Rose, to whom I am here specially indebted, suggests to me that the hymn is really anapaestic:

ἐλθεῖν ἦρ', ὦ Διόνυσ', ἄλιον
ναὸν ἐς ἁγνὸν σὺν Χαρίτεσσιν,
τῷ βοέῳ ποδὶ θύων, ⟨ἐλθεῖν?⟩.
ἄξιε ταῦρ' ἄξιε ταῦρε.

With the phrase τῷ βοέῳ ποδὶ θύων Eitrem (*Opferritus*, pp. 92–3) compares the appeal of the chorus in Sophocles, *Antigone*, 1144, to the god

μολεῖν καθαρσίῳ ποδὶ Παρνασίαν ὑπὲρ κλιτὺν
ἢ στονοέντα πορθμόν.

The pure, and therefore purifying, foot means, he thinks, the magical dance of Dionysos and his followers, and θύων, he suggests, is the 'rundgang', which is exhaustively examined in the first chapter of his book. The connexion of θύειν, 'to sacrifice' with θύειν, 'to rush' remains obscure, but the answer may well lie in the ceremonial movement of dancing round the altar. However that may be, the use of the word here at the festival of *Thyia* upon the lips of the counterparts to the Delphic Thyiades is obviously appropriate, and the reference is clearly to the wild rushing dance of the Maenads.

Our invocation to come with bull-foot accompanied by the Charites recalls Pindar, *Ol.*, xiii, 25,

ταὶ Διονύσου πόθεν ἐξέφανεν
σὺν βοηλάτα Χάριτες διθυράμβῳ;

For the Charites see Stoll in Roscher, *Lex.*, i, pp. 873–9; Escher in *P. W.*, iii, pp. 2150–67; Farnell, *C. G. S.*, v, pp. 427–31. The Charites lent grace to the festal moods of Olympus; they often appear in literature in attendance upon major deities, and a particular appropriateness links them with Apollo and the god of wine. We are not here, however, concerned with such literary allusions as represented the Graces as lending refinement to wine drinking (e.g. Panyasis *ap.* Athenaeus, ii, 3, 4, 36 D, cf. Horace, *Odes*, iii, 19, 15). In part this may be responsible for some of

[1] Since withdrawn, *Zeus*, ii, p. 823, n. 1, in favour of an explanation by a Thracian analogy of doubtful relevance.

their literary association with Dionysos, e. g. the robe woven for Dionysos by the Charites (Ap. Rhod., iv, 424) or the story that they were the daughters of Dionysos and Koronis (Nonnus, xlviii, 335). Here, however, we are dealing with a cult association of a different kind, and for the existence of this elsewhere there is some evidence. Thus the temple of Dionysos stood hard by the shrine of the primitive aniconic Charites of Orchomenos (Pausanias, ix, 38, 1) and, according to Seruius (*Aen.*, i, 720), these were the daughters of Dionysos and Akidalian Aphrodite, (see p. 178 below). That the Charites of Orchomenos were goddesses of fertility belonging to the underworld is almost certain, and traces of a fertility aspect may be detected in the names of the Athenian Charites, Auxo and Hegemone, or in the association of the Graces with Demeter, Kore, and Kalligeneia in the prayer in Aristophanes, *Thesm.*, 300.

The association of the Graces with Dionysos in our hymn may be compared with the similar association of the god with the Muses, which, while explicable upon grounds of social entertainment, has also in some places a deeper significance in cult. The character of Dionysos Mousagetes in Naxos (P. R., i, p. 488) may be uncertain, but significant for the appreciation of our Elean ritual is the mourning for the vanished Dionysos in the orgiastic ceremonies of the *Agrionia* at Chaeronea (see Question 38, p. 164 below). οὐ φαύλως οὖν καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς Ἀγριωνίοις τὸν Διόνυσον αἱ γυναίκες ὡς ἀποδεδρακότα ζητοῦσιν· εἶτα παύονται καὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι πρὸς τὰς Μούσας καταπέφευγε καὶ κέκρυπται παρ' ἐκείναις (Plutarch, *Quaest. Conuiu.*, viii, 717 A).

At Elis the Charites and Dionysos possessed a common altar near the precinct of Pelops (Pausanias, v, 14, 10), and Herodorus (*ap.* Schol., *Ol.*, v, 10) states that the fourth of the six altars, which had been erected by Herakles to the twelve gods, was dedicated to the Charites and Dionysos. The existence of a shrine of the Charites in the market-place in Elis (Pausanias, vi, 34, 6) has no special significance, for similar shrines of the Graces were commonly erected in the markets of Greek towns.

Question 37

Q. *Why is it that the people of Tanagra have an Achilleion, as a place is called outside the town? For enmity rather than friendship towards the city is attributed to Achilles, who carried off Stratonike the mother of Poimandros and slew his son Akestor.*

A. *Well, Poimandros, the father of Ephippos, when the land of the Tanagraeans was still inhabited in villages, was besieged by the Achaeans in the place called Stephon, because he refused to take part with them in the* (*Trojan*)

expedition, This position he evacuated at night and fortified Poimandria. But Polykrithos the architect, who was present, in disparagement and mockery of the works, jumped over the ditch. Poimandros became enraged and rushed to cast at him a big stone, which happened to be lying there concealed from ancient times, covering sacred objects belonging to nocturnal rites. Unwitting Poimandros tore this up and hurled it: Polykrithos indeed he missed, but slew his son Leukippos.

According to law it then was necessary for him to leave Boeotia and become a suppliant at a stranger's hearth: to do this, however, was not easy, since the Achaeans had invaded the land of Tanagra. He therefore sent his son Ephippos to entreat Achilles. He succeeded in persuading him and brought him and Tlepolemos, the son of Herakles, and Peneleos, the son of Hippalkmos, all of whom were related to him. By them Poimandros was escorted to Chalkis and was cleansed by Elephenor of the murder. He, therefore, honoured these men, and assigned temene to them all. Of these that of Achilles has retained its name.

I have discussed some of the points raised by this question in *Annals*, xi, pp. 3–24. As regards the source an improved acquaintance with the *Greek Questions*, nearly all the matter of which is patently derived from Plutarch's reading, makes me unwilling now to suppose that Plutarch here drew from oral local sources. The general similarity of this question to Questions 40 and 41 will be noted, and I am inclined now to suppose that Plutarch may be drawing from some secondary work, perhaps Diokles, *On Shrines of Heroes*, the matter of which was at least in part derived from the patriotic Boeotian lyric poetry of the sixth and fifth centuries. In support of this guess there is the analogy of Question 40, the dactylic rhythm of νυκτελίοις ἱεροῖς ἐπικείμενος (see Höfer in Roscher, *Lex.*, s. v. Poimandros), and the genealogical difficulties of the *aition*, the solution of which may probably lie in the Boeotian manipulation of heroic genealogies of a kind which we know to have occurred in Pindar and Korinna.

On the other hand, of course, a reasonable suggestion is that which Mr. Nock sends me, that νυκτελίοις ἱεροῖς ἐπικείμενος is from the *Aitia* of Kallimachos or some similar work. In support of this one might link this question not with Question 40 but with Question 41, which is certainly from some Alexandrine source. Of the two suggestions my personal preference is slightly in favour of the first, but where evidence is so scanty it would be hardy to maintain that both may not possibly be wrong.

The invasion of Tanagra by Achilles and the Achaeans, the rape

of Stratonike, and the slaughter of Akestor are known only from this passage. Our story clearly arises out of the omission of Thebes and Tanagra from the Homeric *Catalogue*; it therefore is probably of no very great antiquity. On the other hand, the tale of Poimandros and the fatal accident has all the appearance of age, while it does not form a necessary integral part of the invasion story. Though it would serve admirably as an *aition* for a cult of Leukippos or of a sacred stone, like that of Question 13 (p. 77 above), it is in itself irrelevant to a cult of Achilles. It appears as though, in fact, three quite independent matters have been brought together: (1) a local cult of Achilles; (2) the story of the jumping over the ditch and the taboo stone; (3) the punitive expedition of the Achaeans, which is a gloss upon, and therefore later than, Homeric tradition. (3) inevitably raised the difficulty about (1), from which Plutarch sets out, viz. why, if Achilles was an enemy, was he worshipped at Tanagra? Plutarch's source attempted to solve the difficulty by using (2) to provide a happy ending to (3).

Whether a shrine of Achilles survived in Plutarch's day or whether Achilleion was only a place-name, I am not quite clear. τόπος οὕτω προσαγορευόμενος and the mention only of τεμένη in the concluding lines of the *aition* suggest that there was no building or cult in the second century A. D. We shall be safe, however, in assuming the name Achilleion implies that a shrine and cult were once located there. The existence at any time of cults of Peneleos and Tlepolemos at Tanagra is more doubtful. The *temene* are attested only by the story, for only the Achilleion seems to have survived as a place-name.

The Tanagraean cult of Achilles and the more unique cult of Hector at Thebes have been widely used (e.g. Robert, *Held.*, pp. 80–2) in support of the theory of *Sagenverschiebung*, according to which the heroic legends in the *Iliad* represent the transference to Asiatic soil of stories about divine persons, which were originally localized in mainland Greece. This theory, among the distinguished adherents of which are Bethe, Dümmler, Gruppe, Robert, and Pfister, has been roundly criticized by Farnell, *H. C.*, p. 329, and Chadwick, *Heroic Age*, p. 269. It appears to me to have little merit, but that of ingenuity. In *Annals*, *loc. cit.*,[1] I have suggested that both the cults of Achilles at Tanagra and that of Hector at Thebes may have been importations due to reflex influences from Asia Minor. The leading part played by Boeotians in the settlement of Aeolis (Strabo, ix, 5, 402) and Ionia (Herodotus, i, 146; references in P. R., *Held.*, p. 104; *F. H. G.*, Jacoby, Hellanikos, *Frag.* 101 and notes *ad loc.*, p. 460), and the honourable share of Tanagra in Pontic colonization

[1] My opinion has not been shaken by Miss MacCurdy's unconvincing attempt in *C. Q.*, xx, pp. 179 f., to show upon etymological grounds that Hector at Thebes was originally an underworld god named Echelaos.

render such a theory not historically improbable. Nor are examples wanting of analogous Asiatic reactions upon Boeotia: e. g. the transference of Niobe and of the Amazons to Boeotian soil, the introduction of the Samothracian Kabeiroi at Anthedon and Thebes, and possibly the occurrence of the river-name Skamandros (Question 41, p. 176 below).

Achilles I believe to be an epic hero and not a 'faded god' (see Farnell, *H. C.*, pp. 283 f.). His cult is found elsewhere in mainland Greece in Thessaly, Elis, and Laconia. It occurs in Epirus and in Italy at Kroton and Tarentum. On the Asiatic side of the Aegean it spread from the Troad up the Hellespont with Greek colonization into the Black Sea, where the island Leuke at the mouth of the Danube came to be regarded as *par excellence* the sacred isle of the hero. See references in Farnell, *H. C.*, reference No. 63; Roscher, *Lex.*, s. v. Achilleus; Robert, *Held.*, pp. 1194–7.

Poimandros was the legendary founder of Poimandris or Poimandria, which was subsequently renamed after his wife Tanagra, who was the daughter of Aeolus or, according to Korinna, of Boeotian Asopos (Pausanias, ix, 20, 1; Strabo, ix, 2, 10, 404; Steph. Byz., s. v. Τάναγρα). The romantic archaistic taste of imperial times no doubt accounts for the appearance of Poimandros upon the coins of Tanagra (Head, *H. N.*, p. 34), and also for the conventional poetical trope "land of Poimandros" or "race of Poimandros" for Tanagra or Tanagraeans (*I. G.*, vii, 580, 581). The name is perhaps connected with the pasture which made the cattle of Tanagra famous (Schol. Lykophron, 326).

Polykrithos and his son Leukippos are not otherwise known, but the story of the leaping over the ditch in scorn is paralleled not only in the Latin adaptation about Romulus and Remus, but also in the legend that Oineus slew his son Toxeus because he leaped over the ditch (Apollodorus, i, 8, 1). The associations of the story appear to be Dionysiac. Oineus, the wine man, was the first to receive from Dionysos the gift of the vine. The phrase νυκτελίοις ἱεροῖς recalls Dionysos Nuktelios, whose orgies were celebrated in Boeotia and who is connected with the *Agrionia* (Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.*, 112, 291 A and p. 167 below). Leukippos is a suspiciously hieratic kind of name.[1] The worship of Dionysos was prominent at Tanagra, where the temple, with its statue by Kalamis, was among the principal sights (Pausanias, ix, 20, 4). The grandfather of Poimandros was Eleuther (Pausanias, ix, 20, 1), who first introduced the worship of Dionysos (Hyginus, *Fab.*, 225). This story, then, may be thought to be connected with the primitive ritual of a Dionysiac cult and may possibly be

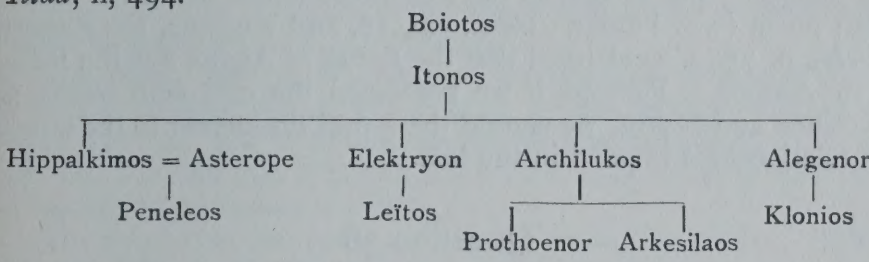
[1] See Roscher, *Lex.*, svv. Leukippe, Leukippos, Leukippiden. Leukippe is connected with the *Agrionia* at Orchomenos, and Lysippe is one of the Proitids connected with the Argive *Agriania*. A Leukippos appears as the husband of Graia, the name of Tanagra when she grew old (according to Pausanias, ix, 20, 1), in Schol. *Iliad*, ii, 498.

a legendary survival of some form of human sacrifice. That this would not be inappropriate in a Boeotian cult of Dionysos is clear from Question 38 (p. 166 below). As regards the story of the Achaean invasion, the place Stephon is not otherwise known. For the early organization in village communities see p. 96 above. An historical explanation of the absence of Kadmeans and Tanagraeans at Troy is offered by T. W. Allen, *Homeric Catalogue*, pp. 41 f.

Elephenor, Tlepolemos and Peneleos are sound Homeric characters, all of whom figure in the *Catalogue* (*Iliad*, ii, 540, 653 f., 494), and are mentioned elsewhere in the poem.

Upon the legendary interconnections of Euboea, this corner of Boeotia and Attica, see Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie*, pp. 163 f.

Peneleos is one of the five Boeotian leaders of the *Catalogue*, whose genealogy is thus given by Diodorus (iv, 67, 7) and Schol. *Iliad*, ii, 494.



Of the five leaders Leïtos alone returned alive and his grave was shown at Plataea. The ashes of Arkesilaos were said to have been brought home and buried at Lebadeia, and perhaps a similar story may have accounted for the Boeotian grave of Peneleos, which is attested only by [Aristotle], *Peplos*, 21 (see Pfister, *Reliquienkult*, 1, p. 191, n. 74; Allen, *Catalogue*, p. 11. Allen suggests that Peneleos was a Kadmean, but perhaps the stories in Pausanias represent the late attempt of Thebes to assert a claim after all to have been concerned in the siege of Troy).

Tlepolemos, son of Herakles, is the Argive colonizer of Rhodes (see Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 102; Farnell, *H. C.*, p. 123). Of that there is no question, though whether with Strabo and Mr. Allen we are to call him the pre-Dorian colonizer of Rhodes is a matter for debate. What he is doing in Boeotia is obscure.

Difficulties, which it would have taxed the genealogical lore of the Emperor Tiberius to solve, are raised by the awkward phrase συγγενεῖς ἅπαντας αὐτῶν ὄντας, the usual reading adopted by Bernardakis, or συγγενεῖς ἅπαντας αὐτῷ ὄντας, which Wyttenbach and Xylander have adopted from E. To get sense out of either one or the other upon our existing information seems impossible. My earlier note in *Annals*, xi, p. 21 is probably beside the mark. I am inclined to think now that we are involved in the results of a Boeotian manipulation of the genealogies, of which we now possess but scattered hints. For instance, a link between Peneleos,

whose line has been given above, and Tlepolemos may be sought in the Boeotian claim to the Theban origin of Herakles. Homer (*Iliad*, xix, 99) could be quoted for the birth of the hero in Thebes, and a rival Boeotian genealogy to the usual Argive Perseid line of descent was put forward. In this play seems to have been made with the name Elektryon, connecting both the Elektran Gate and the father of Leïtos with the father of Alkmene. On this Theban genealogy see Robert, *Held.*, pp. 605 f., and Gruppe in *P. W. Suppl.*, III, p. 937.

Even between Ephippos and Achilles a possible link could be forged. The Tanagraean royal line is as follows: Apollo = Aithusa, Eleuther, Iasios, Poimandros = Tanagra, Ephippos. Tanagra, the mother of Ephippos, was said by Korinna to be the daughter of Asopos. Now Achilles was the son of Peleus, the son of Aeacus, the son of Zeus and Aigina, who was the daughter of Asopos. But as against the rest of the Greek world the Boeotian poets (e. g. Pindar, *Isthm.*, viii, 18, and Korinna, see Robert, *Held.*, p. 75, n. 4) claimed that the father of Aigina was the Boeotian Asopos. Perhaps if we possessed the complete works of Korinna and Myrtis, we should there find the answer to the tangle of relationships implied in the text.

Question 38

Q. *Who are the Psoloeis and who the Oleiai among the Boeotians?*

A. *They say that the daughters of Minyas, Leukippe, and Arsinoe and Alkathoe became frenzied and craved for human flesh, and drew lots about their children. The lot fell upon Leukippe and she gave her son Hippasos to be torn in pieces. And their husbands who, through mourning and grief donned ill-favoured raiment, were called Sooty (Psoloeis), but the women themselves Oleiai, as it were Murderesses (Ὀλοαί).*

And up to the present time the people of Orchomenos give this name to the women of the family descended from them. And once a year in the Agrionia there takes place a flight and pursuit of them by the priest of Dionysos holding a sword. And when he catches one of them he may kill her. And in our own time Zoilos the priest killed her. But it resulted in no good for them; for Zoilos fell sick of a chance ulcerous wound and, after it had long festered, he died, and the Orchomenians met with defeat in public lawsuits and damages were given against them. So they transferred the priesthood from the family and gave it to the best man elected from all the citizens.

The latter part of the answer is clearly from Plutarch's own knowledge. The story of the Minyads may be from Korinna.

The tale of the Minyads is also given by Antoninus Liberalis, 10, from Nikander and Korinna, by Ovid (*Met.*, iv, 1 f.), and by Aelian (*Var. Hist.*, iii, 42). Ovid gives the alternative Leuconoe for Leukippe, and both Aelian and Ovid have Alkithoe for Alkathoe. In these versions the three women refuse to celebrate the rites of Dionysos: they continue to show an obstinate devotion to spinning, nor do portents (ivy sprouting on the looms, wine and honey dripping from the ceiling) suffice against the hardness of their hearts. They are then smitten with madness and tear Hippasos in pieces as Maenads tear fawns (omitted in Ovid). They join the other Maenads, but are pursued by them as accursed (so Aelian), and are turned into crow, bat, and owl respectively. Welcker's interpretation of a vase (*Alte Denkmäler*, iii, p. 138, Plate 14) as depicting the Minyads is not probable (see Rapp in Roscher, *Lex.*, ii, p. 3015).

The story, like that of Pentheus, pretty clearly reflects a rite in which a human victim was rent in pieces by the votaries of Dionysos; for the Dionysiac *sparagmos* see Farnell, *C. G. S.*, v., pp. 164 f. Our tale is connected with a ritual which is obviously a mitigation of human sacrifice.

The number of the sisters is characteristically Dionysiac. Three *thiasoi* of Maenads, led by Autonoe, Ino, and Agaue, were seen by the Messenger in Euripides, *Bacchae*, 680, and when the people of Magnesia on the Maeander inquire about the miraculous discovery of a statue of Dionysos, they are bidden by the oracle to import from Thebes three Maenads of the race of Ino to organize and lead the three *thiasoi* in Magnesia (Kern, *Inschr. v. Magnesia*, 215). This inscription shows that the triple organization was characteristic of the cult in historical times. For the legend there are further the daughters of Proitos, whose madness, which was cured by the Dionysiac seer Melampus, in the Hesiodic (Apollodorus, ii, 2, 2) and certainly the original version, was a visitation of Dionysos. They, too, are three princesses, Iphinoe, Lysippe, and Iphianassa. In Argos also there are stories of tearing babies in pieces. δείξας δὲ Θηβαίοις ὅτι θεός ἐστιν, ἦκεν εἰς Ἄργος, κακεῖ πάλιν οὐ τιμώντων αὐτὸν ἐξέμηνε τὰς γυναῖκας· αἱ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι τοὺς ἐπιμαστιδίους ἔχουσαι παῖδας τὰς σάρκας αὐτῶν ἐσιτοῦντο, Apollodorus, iii, 5, 2.

With the Minyads of Boeotia was connected the festival of *Agrionia*; with the Proitids of Argos the Argive *Agrania* or *Agriania*. Hesychius Ἀγρανία· ἑορτὴ ἐν Ἄργει ἐπὶ μιᾷ τῶν Προίτου θυγατέρων. *Id.* Ἀγριανία· νεκύσια παρὰ Ἀργείοις. The month-name *Agrionios* had a wide distribution. It is attested for Kos, Kalymnos, Rhodes, Byzantium, and Lesbos, as well as for Boeotia (references in P. R., i, pp. 689, 691; Nilsson, *G. F.*, pp. 271 f.). Now that Plutarch would have derived the name from ἄγριος

there can be little doubt (see Plutarch, *Antonius*, 24). Some modern scholars are of a like opinion and equate Dionysos Agrionios with Dionysos Omestes or Omadios (see Weniger, *A. R. W.*, x, pp. 66–9).

But this derivation may be doubted. The forms Ἀγερράνιος (*I. G.* xii$_2$, 527) and Ἀγρώνιος (*I. G.*, vii, 3082) support an original derivation from *ἀγείρω*, and I should agree with the view of Nilsson that we have here a widely distributed and very ancient spring festival of the dead with which Dionysos became subsequently connected, in fact an analogue to the Attic *Anthesteria*. A corollary to this view is the rejection of that of Rohde and Weniger that the chthonic character of the festival derives from the chthonic character of the god, but the form in which Nilsson has expressed it is open to criticism; for there are good grounds for believing that in his Thracian home and before he entered Greece at all Dionysos had already a chthonic aspect (see Farnell, *C. G. S.*, v, pp. 127 f.).

Before leaving the *Agrionia* there is a persistent misunderstanding, as to the reason of which I am not clear. Farnell, Rapp, and others in the course of their discussions speak of the *Agrionia* as trieteric. That many Dionysiac festivals were held every other year is notorious, but there is no evidence that the *Agrionia* were not annual. *παρ' ἐνιαυτόν* does not mean "every other year". A festival which gave its name to a month is practically certain to have been annual. The *Anthesteria* were annual.

Our information about the procedure at the Boeotian festival consists of scattered fragments of information. We are here told of the ritual flight and pursuit of certain women and are reminded of Lykourgos (*Iliad*, vi, 132 f.):

> ὅς ποτε μαινομένοιο Διωνύσοιο τιθήνας
> σεῦε κατ' ἠγάθεον Νυσήϊον· αἱ δ' ἅμα πᾶσαι
> θύσθλα χαμαὶ κατέχεναν, ὑπ' ἀνδροφόνοιο Λυκούργου
> θεινόμεναι βουπλῆγι.

The ritual pursuit is clearly a mitigated form of human sacrifice. We may compare the ritual chase of the victim in the human sacrifice at Salamis in Cyprus (Porphyry, *de abst.*, ii, 54) or the parallel of the Lokrian maidens who were yearly sent to Ilion and might be slain by the Trojans if they were caught before gaining the temple of Athena (see Farnell, *H. C.*, pp. 294 f. and references). It is an interesting fact that a priest should actually have exercised his right at Orchomenos at so late a date as Plutarch's lifetime. The unhappy sequel is consonant with the humane sentiment of the age, which would regard such an action with horror.

Before leaving Zoilos we may notice that the removal of an hereditary priesthood from a family is a very exceptional step. The systems of tenure of priesthoods varied in different cults and in different states. Election by vote and election by lot were frequent: very common too is the purchase of such offices from

the state. Inheritance within a particular family, though not necessarily descending from father to son (see the Anthead genealogy, Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 1020) was also frequent, especially in antique cults of importance. See further Stengel, *Kultusaltertümer*, p. 44. Here the hereditary priesthood is abolished and election by vote from the citizen body is substituted.

Such other information as we possess about the *Agrionia* is mainly from *obiter dicta* of Plutarch. At Chaeronea the women searched for Dionysos who was said to have run away. After a time the search was abandoned and he was said to have fled to the Muses and to be hidden with them. After-dinner riddles were asked and answered (Plutarch, *Q. Conuiu.*, viii, 717 A). The principal rites of the *Agrionia* and *Nuktelia* took place at night, and the raving women tore ivy with their teeth (Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.*, 112, 291 A). The rites of the *Nuktelia* resembled the rending and resurrection of Osiris (Plutarch, *Is. et Os.*, 35, 364 F). With this compare *de Ei ap. Delph.*, 9, 389 A., where there is a statement of similar import and possibly an allusion to the practice of asking riddles.

The rendings and resurrections agree with our story of the Minyads and point to Dionysiac mysteries in which the god was mystically torn and devoured by the initiates. The search for Dionysos has been explained by Usener and others as a lament over the departure of summer. With Nilsson I regard this as improbable, since the month *Agrionios* cannot have been later than June.

We come then to the names of the participants in the ritual. Certain men were called Psoloeis or Sooty because they were dressed in clothes of mourning. For the word compare the use of the Latin *sordidi*. For black colour in the service of Dionysos see Weniger in Roscher, *Lex.*, ii, p. 2565, s. v. Melaina. What actual part the Psoloeis played in the ritual we are not told.

As regards the name of the women we are unfortunately very uncertain what it really was, being faced with a textual difficulty which is not certainly to be solved. The manuscripts read Αἰολεῖαι, a reading which is adopted by Wentzel in *P. W.*, i, p. 896, by Toepffer, *Att. Gen.*, 190 f., who wishes to connect the human sacrifice of the *Agrionia* with that offered to Laphystian Zeus, and, upon second thoughts, by Höfer in his recantation in Roscher, *Lex.*, iii, p. 3200. A variety of explanations of the name has been offered. (1) Our legend is concerned with the daughters of Minyas (for the view that Minyans were among the first propagators of Dionysiac worship in Greece see Farnell, *C. G. S.*, v, p. 111). Now Minyas is Aiolides (Ap. Rhod., iii, 1904, and Schol.), and therefore the Minyades are properly Αἰολεῖαι. (2) Αἰολεῖαι is derived from αἰόλος, and this in the sense of "glittering" is a true antithesis to Psoloeis. (3) Αἰολεῖαι, derived from αἰόλος, refers to the spotted fawn skins which were worn by Maenads. (4) αἰόλος

can be used of rapid movement, and hence Gruppe suggested that Aioleiai is a name similar to Thyiades.

Even a variety of senses which are not inappropriate can therefore be extracted from the manuscript reading. But unfortunately if Αἰολεῖαι is retained in the question, it is impossible to make anything of τὰς Αἰολείας οἰωνολόας in the answer. The emendation of this to Ὀλείας οἷον ὀλοάς has given rise to the reading Ὀλεῖαι which I have adopted, though with great misgiving. Ὀλοή is used as an epithet of Moira (Bacchylides, 5, 121; Eustathius, *Iliad*, p. 1254, 17), and with the name Oleiai may be compared Δύσμαιναι which, according to Hesychius, was the name given to Bacchae at Sparta.

I have little doubt that an identical corruption underlies the inexplicable μὴ αἰόλα δέ in Plutarch, *de def. orac.*, 15, 418. Various conjectures have been offered here, Αἰολίδα, Ἀλενάδαι, Αἰολάδαι, Αἰολάϊδαι, none of which, however, will help our passage. Similarly Weniger's attractive ΗΙΑΙΘΥΙΑΔΕΣ for ΜΗΑΙΟΛΑΔΕ is of no help towards the solution of Αἰολείας οἰωνολόας.

Some have boldly, I think Crusius was the first, transferred the emendation αἱ Ὀλεῖαι from our passage to that of *de def. orac.*, 15, and this is adopted by Farnell, *C. G. S.*, iv, p. 293. This appears a rash proceeding in itself: we have no other indication whatever of the existence of persons called Oleiai at Delphi: against this reading, as against Weniger's Θυιάδες, is also the difficulty of the masculine προσβάλλοντες.

I have adopted Oleiai here *faute de mieux*. The true reading is one of the many questions to which I do not know the answer.

Question 39

Q. *Why is it that the Arcadians stone those who voluntarily enter the Lykaion; but if they enter through ignorance, they send them away to Eleutherae?*

A. *Whether is it that the saying has come to be believed because by their release they are set free and the phrase "to Freetown" (Eleutherae) is analogous to the phrases "to the land of Carefree" or "you shall come to Pleasure's Seat"? Or is it according to the legend, since only Eleuther and Lebados among the sons of Lykaon did not partake of the abomination connected with Zeus, but fled into Boeotia, and there is community of citizenship between the people of Lebadeia and the Arcadians? Therefore they send those who unwittingly enter the abaton of Zeus to Eleutherae. Or, as Architimos says in his Arcadian History, that certain persons, who entered in ignorance, were handed over to the Phliasians by the Arcadians and by the Phliasians to the Megarians, and being conveyed from Megara to Thebes,*

they were overtaken near Eleutherae by rain and thunder and other portents? Whence indeed some say the place was called Eleutherae.

The statement, however, that no shadow is cast by the man who enters the Lykaion is false, though it is firmly believed. Is it because the air turns to cloud and lowers on those who enter? Or because the man who enters is killed, and the Pythagoreans say that the souls of those who die cast no shadow nor blink? Or because the sun makes shadows but the law deprives those who enter of the sun?

They have too another riddling expression: for the man who enters is called 'deer' (ἔλαφος). *Wherefore, when Kantharion the Arcadian, who deserted to the Eleans when they were at war with the Arcadians, and crossed the abaton with his booty, fled to Sparta at the end of the war, the Spartans surrendered him to the Arcadians in obedience to the god* (i. e. the oracle of Apollo) *who bade them 'surrender the deer'.*

Nothing is known of Architimos except this quotation. Besides the Aristotelian *Constitution of the Arcadians* (Rose, *Frag.* 442) four or five *Arkadika* are known by name, and the topics of Lykaon and the *abaton* crop up with some frequency in other works than local histories of Arcadia. The field is therefore too wide for speculation as to Plutarch's further sources to be profitable. I am of opinion that his knowledge of Polybius is responsible for his scepticism about the loss of shadow in the *abaton*.

Zeus Lykaios, the *Lykaia*, the story of Lykaon and the tales of werewolves have given rise to much discussion and, it may be added, wild speculation. For the latter it may suffice to refer to the supposed wolf secret society of Professor Murray, *Anthropology and the Classics*, pp. 72 f. More useful will be found the discussions of the evidence, such as it is, in Farnell, *C. G. S.*, i, pp. 41 f.; Nilsson, *G. F.*, pp. 8–10; P. R., i, pp. 127 f.

The relevant passages in classical literature are most conveniently tabulated in Immerwahr, *Kulte und Mythen Arkadiens*, i, pp. 1–24, and the references in Cook, *Zeus*, i, pp. 63–89, constitute a very completely documented bibliography of the literature of the various theories about Zeus Lykaios and Lykaon.

Here we are concerned with the story of Lykaon, the variants of which fall into two main groups. In the first (Apollodorus, iii, 8 f.; Nic. Dam., 43, *F. H. G.*, Müller, iii, p. 378 = Suidas s. v. Λυκάων; Hyginus, *Fab.*, 176; Scholia on Lykophron, 481; Pseudo-Hecataeus, *Frag.* 375, *F. H. G.*, Müller, i, p. 31 = Tzetzes *ad* Lykophron, 481) Lykaon was a good king with fifty wicked sons who perpetrated the crime. In the second (Pausanias, viii, 2; Pseudo-Erasthenes, 8; Ovid, *Met.*, i, 209 f.; Hyginus, *Astron.*, ii,

4; Seruius, *Eclogue*, vi, 41; *Aen.*, i, 731; Nonnus, *Dion.*, xviii, 20; Clem. Alex., *Protrept.*, ii, 36; Arnobius, *adv. nationes*, iv, 24; Lactantius *ad* Statius, *Theb.*, xi, 128; Eustathius, *Il.*, p. 302) Lykaon himself was the criminal. There is some indication (see for example Pseudo-Eratosthenes and Eustathius) that the second was the Hesiodic version, but I can see no real evidence for distinguishing the first as Hellenistic-Roman, as is done by Immerwahr. In fact there are no grounds for deciding that one is necessarily earlier than the other. I should also doubt whether Immerwahr is right in thinking that the connexion of Lykaon's crime with Deukalion's Flood is Hesiodic. It is asserted as an alternative postscript in Apollodorus, and occurs in Seruius, *Eclogue*, vi, 41. Both passages may derive from Ovid, where it may well be an invention of the poet made for the purpose of linking his episodes.

On the other hand, the derivation of the place-name Trapezus, from the overturning of the table upon which the monstrous meal was set, is a very constant feature in all versions and may well go back to Hesiod (Comm. Arati. Suppl., 574, M. 8 = Hesiod, *Frag.* 181, Rzach).

The victim of the crime is sometimes unspecified, sometimes one of the children of the place or, in Ovid, a Molossian hostage. That he was a son of Lykaon is pretty definitely a later elaboration of the story, and still later is the version that he was Nyktimos, the youngest son. In the genealogies, as opposed to the story of the sacrifice, Nyktimos is alternatively the youngest (Apollodorus, iii, 8, 1) or the oldest son (Pausanias, viii, 2). The version that the victim offered was Arkas, the grandson of Lykaon, is peculiar to katasterismic literature.

The crime of Lykaon was connected with the practice of human sacrifice in historical times to Zeus Lykaios and with stories of werewolves. As regards the practice the testimony of Theophrastos (Porphyry, *de Abst.*, ii, 27 = Euseb., *Praep. Evang.*, iv, 16, 10) is explicit for its survival in his day, and the language of Pausanias (viii, 38, 7) suggests that he believed that it still went on in the second century after Christ. [Plato], *Minos*, 315 C, and the late and unimportant evidence of Isidore of Seville (*Etym.* viii, 9, p. 370) record human sacrifice as taking place. The earliest evidence alike for human sacrifice and for werewolves is given by Plato (*Republic*, ix, 565 D–E; to this passage, not to independent knowledge of fact, Polybius, vii, 13, 7 refers), though Plato states it not as fact but as μῦθος. Of the actuality of the survival of human sacrifice in the worship of Zeus Lykaios, probably until quite a late date, I am personally convinced.

According to Plato human entrails were mixed with those of the animal victim, and the worshipper who tasted of them became a wolf. This version is followed by Pausanias (viii, 2, 6), though Pausanias adds, perhaps from contamination with the other

version, for he knew the story of Damarchos (vi, 8, 2), that the metamorphosis was for a period of nine years. A second version, which perhaps derived from the story of this athlete who was alleged to have been a werewolf at one period in his career, stated that victims were chosen by lot from a particular family, hung up their clothes on an oak, swam across a tarn (perhaps Hagno, Pausanias, viii, 38, 3), and turned into wolves, resuming their human shape at the end of nine years, if, during their term as wolves, they had abstained from human flesh. Augustine (*de ciu. Dei*, xviii, 17) had this from Varro, as probably did Pliny (*N. H.*, viii, 22 (34), 81), who quotes, however, the names of the two Greek authors, who were in turn the source of Varro. I doubt that this version was ever genuine local tradition at all. The picturesque nature of the werewolf story has placed it since Plato in the forefront of the Lykaon story, but I helieve it to be an addition.

The original punishment of Lykaon and his sons appears to have been the oversetting of the table and the blasting of the family by thunderbolts. There are variations (e. g. Schol. Lykophron) which represent the good king and one innocent son (compare our Eleuther and Lebados) as being saved. It is a further development due to the necessity of bringing in the werewolves somehow or other when there is a differentiation in the mode of punishment, the sons are blasted and their father turned into a wolf (Ovid, Pseudo-Eratosthenes, Pausanias, Seruius, Lactantius), or some of the sons are blasted and their father and the rest of the family are turned into wolves (Tzetzes and Scholia on Lykophron, 481).

The genealogy of the sons of Lykaon in the Hesiodic *Eoae.* (Strabo, v, 2, 4, 221 = Hesiod, *Frag.* 44, Rzach) is not extant. We possess, however, two different lists of forty-eight and thirty names respectively in Apollodorus, iii, 8, 1, and Pausanias, viii, 3. Ten names are common to the two lists: in both the names are those of eponyms of various Arcadian towns (see Weizsäcker, in Roscher, *Lex.*, ii, pp. 2168–73), which supports the view of Ed. Meyer (*Geschichte des Altertums*[2], ii, p. 325) that from quite early times the festival of Zeus gave a quasi-political unity to Arcadia.

Now this passage in Plutarch is unique in giving two sons of Lykaon who were saved, nor do the names of Eleuther and Lebados occur anywhere else among the sons of Lykaon. That this connexion, therefore, rests upon any sound and ancient tradition seems to me improbable, nor does it appear to fall into the same category as the other indications in legend and cult of early interconnexions between Thessaly and Boeotia and Arcadia, such as are discussed by Immerwahr, *op. cit.*, pp. 42 f., and Farnell, *C. G. S.*, iv, pp. 19, 44, 106 f. It looks rather as though our Boeotian eponyms have been interpolated among the Lykaonids in order to support late political associations by a legendary tie.

Pausanias (ix, 39, 1) heard nothing of the son of Lykaon at Lebadeia, whose eponym appears to be a purely fictitious invention arising from the local claim to identity with Mideia of the *Catalogue* (see Pieske in *P. W.*, xii, p. 1050). "Who was the father of Lebados and why he came, they do not know: all they know is that his wife was Laonike."

That it was extremely doubtful whether those who entered the *abaton* unwittingly were in fact sent to Eleutherae is shown by Plutarch's first explanation that the phrase may be purely figurative. Of the proverbs with which he compares it I cannot elsewhere trace Ἀρέσαντος ἔδος. The first is quoted also by the paroimiographers (Zenobius, i, 78; Diogenian, i, 78, 25): Ἀμελοῦς γωνία· ἐπὶ τῶν ἀργῶς καὶ ῥαθύμως καθημένων. There seems also to have been a place in Libya which was named Ἀμελής or Ἀμελοῦς Γωνία (Zenob., *loc. cit.* Hesychius, s. v.). It may have been a nickname or a Greek adaptation of a native name to which possibly some colour was lent by the tradition which placed the Lotos-eaters off the African coast.

For the *abaton* and its excavation see Cook, *Zeus*, i, p. 81 f.

The version which made Arkas the victim of Lykaon's crime, proceeded, on the model of the Pelops story, with his restoration by Zeus. Subsequently in ignorance he fell in love with his mother, unwittingly entered the *abaton* in pursuit of her, and was about to be put to death by the Arcadians when Zeus removed him with Kallisto to the stars (Pseudo-Eratosthenes, 8: this is the regular katasterismic version and is an invention of that type of literature). Not earlier than Hellenistic is the story that Atalanta and Meilanion yielded to their passion in the Lykaian *abaton* and were turned into lions (Apollodorus, iii, 9, 2), and indeed the scene of their crime is otherwise laid in a cave on Mt. Parnassos (Hygin., *Fab.*, 185) or more usually a cave of Cybele (Ovid, *Met.*, x, 685; Seruius, *Aen.*, iii, 113; for the rationalist version of the story see Palaiphatos, 13, Herakleitos, 12).

That persons who unwittingly entered the enclosure were called ἔλαφοι is nowhere else attested, nor is there another extant reference to the story of Kantharion. The name ἔλαφος would seem probably to be derived from the oracle here quoted, and in the absence of further information remains completely obscure. For more reasons than one I do not think probable the suggestion of Dr. Cook (*Zeus*, i, p. 67 note) that persons who had unwittingly entered the *abaton* were dressed in deerskins before being chased and killed.

I fancy that Plutarch's repudiation of the belief that objects within the enclosure lost their shadow is derived from his knowledge of Polybius (xvi, 12, 7), who is severe upon the credulity of Theopompos in believing the tale.

Pausanias (viii, 38, 6) was told that one who entered the *abaton* lost his shadow and could not outlive the year. Hunters had

seen their game flee into the inviolate enclosure and had observed that they ceased to cast shadows. Our traveller compares the temporary phenomenon at Syene, when the Sun is in Cancer (for which see Frazer's note *ad loc.*). Schol. Kallimach., *Hymn*, i, 13, states that every living thing which entered became sterile and ceased to cast a shadow.

The explanations as to why the belief should have gained credence are Plutarch's own. Of these neither the suggested aerial phenomena nor the allegory about the sun need detain us.

The true reason for the belief no doubt is that upon which Plutarch touches in his second explanation, viz. the widespread belief that the shadow is an essential part of the living personality. Thus Bushmen will not let their shadows fall upon the dying game (Lloyd, *Bushman Reports*, p. 15). By repeating a charm at sunset at the moment when your shadow disappears you may make yourself invisible to all (Ibn el H'adjdj *ap.* Doutté, *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, p. 276). See further the references given in Frazer, *Pausanias*, iv, p. 384; Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, pp. 78–9; Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, i, pp. 85, 430–5; and von Negelein, "Bild, Spiegel und Schatten im Volksglauben", *A. R. W.*, v, pp. 1–37.

The Pythagorean doctrine turns up again in Plutarch, *de ser. num. uind.*, 22, 564 C, where Thespesios is told that "the souls of the dead make no shadow and their eyes do not blink". It is by his shadow that the souls in Purgatory recognize that Dante is a living man (Dante, *Purg.*, iii); this may be a direct inheritance from the classical tradition. For the second Pythagorean test compare Heliodorus, *Aith.*, iii, 13, where it is explained that gods can always be detected when disguised as mortals, because spirits walk without moving their feet and their eyes do not blink.

It is interesting that both Pythagorean tests are found in India. One of the signs by which a Bhūta, the malevolent spirit of a man who has met his death by violence, can be detected, is that it casts no shadow (Penzer-Tawney, *The Ocean of Story*, i, p. 206), and mortals can be distinguished from spiritual beings because the eyes of the former blink and those of the latter do not (Penzer-Tawney, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 175, iv, p. 239, viii, p. 8).

Question 40

Q. *Who is Eunostos, a hero in Tanagra, and why is his grove taboo to women?*

A. *Eunostos was the son of Elieus, the son of Kephisos, and Skias, who got his name, they say, because he was brought up by the nymph Eunoste. Being beautiful and righteous, he was not less modest and austere. But they say that Ochne, one of the daughters of Kolonos and so his cousin, fell in love with him. But when Eunostos repelled*

her attempts to seduce him and, after upbraiding her, went away to bring accusation against her to her brothers, the maiden forestalled him in doing the same against him and egged on the brothers, Ochemos and Leon and Boukolos, to kill Eunostos as having lain with her by force. In consequence they lay in wait for the young man and slew him. Elieus then put them in bonds. But Ochne, repenting, and being filled with trouble of mind, both wished to purge herself of the grief of her passion and at the same time felt pity for her brothers: so she told Elieus all the truth and he told Kolonos. Kolonos then gave judgement, and the brothers of Ochne went into exile and she threw herself over a cliff, as Myrtis, the lyric poetess of Anthedon, has told.

But the herôon of Eunostos and his grave were so strictly guarded against entry or approach by women, that often when earthquakes, droughts, or other portents occurred, the Tanagraeans made inquiries and were anxiously concerned lest a woman should have escaped notice approaching the place. And some say, among them Kleidamos, a man of note, that Eunostos has met them going down to the sea to wash, because a woman had entered the sacred precinct. And Diokles narrates in his Treatise upon Shrines of Heroes the decree of the Tanagraeans about the matters reported by Kleidamos.

The source is Diokles, *Treatise on Shrines of Heroes*, a work the existence of which has been missed by Tresp, *F. G. K.*, and about which nothing is known. The authorship is provisionally assigned to Diokles Peparethius (*F. H. G.*, Müller, iii, p. 78), whose work upon the early history of Rome is quoted by Plutarch, *Romulus*, 3, but it is quite uncertain which of the several obscure authors named Diokles (for whom see *F. H. G.*, Müller, iii, p. 74) is really responsible. I think it probable that the quotation from Myrtis of Anthedon (Bergk, *P. L. G.* 4, iii, p. 542), whose pupils Pindar and Korinna were said to have been, is at second-hand from the treatise of Diokles.

For δόγμα in the sense of a decree see above, p. 99.

The word Eunostos means 'giving a good return of flour', and in general Greek usage the name seems to have been applied to a functional spirit of indeterminate sex (is this perhaps the reason why our hero gets his name from a nymph Eunoste?), who presided over the operation of milling. Hesychius s. v. εὔνοστος· ἀγαλμάτιον εὐτελὲς ἐν τοῖς μύλωσιν ὃ δοκεῖ ἐφορᾶν τὸ ἐπίμετρον τῶν ἀλεύρων ὅπερ λέγεται νόστος. Cf. *Et. Mag.*, 394, 4; Eustathius, pp. 214, 18, 1383, 42. Such minor functional spirits, though but rarely referred to in literature, were probably not uncommon in

ancient Greek popular belief. Some examples are collected in Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, pp. 970 f. The best known are the demons which "the waits" invoke against the ungenerous potters[1] in *Homeric Epigram*, xiv:

> συγκαλέω δὴ ἔπειτα καμίνῳ δηλητῆρας
> Σύντριβ' ὁμῶς Σμάραγόν τε καὶ Ἄσβετον ἠδὲ Σαβάκτην
> Ὠμόδαμόν θ', ὃς τῇδε τέχνῃ κακὰ πολλὰ πορίζει.

Eunostos may also have been used as a cult epithet of Artemis, like Epimulios (Crusius in Roscher, *Lex.*, s. v. Eunostos). Crusius consequently wishes to connect our hero with Artemis, who was the object of cult at Tanagra. For this, however, there is no other evidence whatever. Upon what grounds Bethe (*Thebanische Heldenlieder*, p. 56) speaks of "the hero Eunostos at Tanagra, who is perhaps identical with Amphiaraos", I do not know. Nor do I know of anything which could support an identification, which seems in itself extremely improbable.

In fact all the available information about Eunostos of Tanagra is contained in the passage before us. It has been best analysed by Farnell, *H. C.*, pp. 88–9. Eunostos seems to belong to the relatively small group of functional heroes, and his story to reflect primitive agrarian rites. Like 'John Barleycorn', the hero of the good return of flour is slain. His parents are Elieus, "of the marshes" (cf. the name Eleon in Question 41, p. 176 below), and Skias, "shade". One of his slayers is Boukolos, "the herdsman", and the heroine of the tragedy is Ochne, "pear-tree". In making Ochne hang herself and explaining it by reference to the stories of goddesses and heroines who hang themselves and the common agrarian custom of hanging puppets on trees (discussed by Farnell, *H. C.*, p. 31; see also Question 12, p. 72 above), Farnell is guilty of a minor but not substantial inaccuracy. Actually, Ochne threw herself over a precipice, which brings her into line with an analogous series of heroines, Aglauros, Britomartis, &c.

The details of the story call for little comment. At many Greek shrines there were taboos upon the entry of specified classes of persons. Two examples of professional taboos we have encountered above in Questions 27 and 28. For racial taboos, no Theban might enter the shrine of Amphiaraos at Oropus and no slave nor Aetolian that of Leukothea at Chaeronea. There were many shrines or rites in which the presence of one sex or the other was strictly prohibited (see Stengel, *Kultusaltertümer*, p. 28, and the references there given).

[1] Like *Epigram* xv this is a fragment of a 'collecting song" like the *Crow Song* or the *Swallow Song*. I omitted it by inadvertence in my *Folklore Studies*, cap. iv. Adaptations of the blessings and curses to the profession of the householder addressed are not uncommon in modern Greek carol-singing, e. g. Passow, *Carmina popularia Graeciae recentioris*, No. 304 to a ship's captain.

For a list of places or rites to which women were not allowed access see Wächter, *Reinheitsvorschriften im gr. Kult*, pp. 125 f. The reason, where it can be traced, was not uniform. Usually it turns upon the character of the deity or hero concerned or upon the legend of his life. Thus Farnell (*H. C.*, pp. 162–3) is probably right in explaining the very general taboo upon women in shrines and cults of Herakles by "the old religious feeling that the presence of women impairs the warrior's energy, and that it would therefore be detrimental in a hero's shrine, which served to consecrate heroic valour". The fate of Orpheus, no doubt, explains why no woman might approach the grave of the head of Orpheus which lay near the mouth of the Meles (Konon, 45). Exactly similar is the Christian taboo upon women entering the church of St. John the Baptist in Lateran (*Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, ed. Parthey, p. 50). On the other hand, another Christian example shows that the *aition* may be developed from the taboo. No woman might enter the Chapel of the Holy Cross in St. Peter's because, it was said, a miraculous fount of holy oil in the chapel had dried up owing to a woman having uttered curses when a drop from it soiled her dress (*Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, p. 54). But it will be fairly safe to assume that the taboo at the shrine of Eunostos arose directly from the story of Ochne's crime.

When encountered by Kleidamos, Eunostos was going to the sea for purification, just as were the Tanagraean votaries of Dionysos, when they met the Triton (Pausanias, ix, 20, 4). The peculiar efficacy of sea-water for purification is a common-place of Greek religious practice (see for example the references in Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie*, p. 889; Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*, p. 158). θάλασσα κλύζει πάντα τἀνθρώπων κακά (Euripides, *Iph. Taur.*, 1193), and sea-water is not seldom specifically prescribed in ritual (e. g. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 1218, 16, 1026, 24).

Eitrem (*Opferritus*, p. 96), quoting numerous references and analogies, rightly interprets the action of Eunostos in terms of the common belief in ancient Greece of the necessity for purification after sexual intercourse. Upon this see the references collected in Fehrle, *Die kultische Keuschheit im Altertum*, pp. 26 f., and his discussion of the ceremonies of washing images of deities in the sea after the performance of a ritual marriage, ἱερὸς γάμος, *ibid.*, pp. 171 f. A similar rule obtains in Mahomedan countries. For the Ghusl or major ablution after the consummation of marriage see, for example, Burton-Smithers, *Arabian Nights*, iii, pp. 71, 359.

Question 41

Q. *Why was a river in Boeotia near Eleon called Skamandros?*

A. *Deïmachos, the son of Eleon, was a companion of*

Herakles and took part in the expedition against Troy. But when, as it seems, the length of the war dragged on, he received Glaukia, the daughter of Skamandros, who had fallen in love with him, made her pregnant, and then himself fell fighting against the Trojans. But Glaukia fearing detection, fled to Herakles and told him of her love and of her association with Deïmachos. But he, partly out of pity for the woman and partly because he was glad that the race of so good a man and a friend of his should not die out, took Glaukia on board his ships, and when she bore a son, he brought her to Boeotia, and handed over the child and his mother to Eleon. The child was called Skamandros and became king of the country. And the river Inachos he named from himself Skamandros and the adjacent stream Glaukia after his mother. But the spring Akidousa was named from his wife, who bore him three daughters, whom they honour to this day under the title of 'the Maidens'.

Plutarch's immediate source may have been the same as that from which he drew Questions 37 and 40, and this story could well have occurred in Diokles' treatise. But if so, the primary source must have differed, for this tale has unmistakable Alexandrine traits. The version of the sequel to Herakles' expedition against Troy must presumably have differed from that followed in Question 58.

Eleon or Heleon lay two hours north-west of Tanagra near the modern village of Dritsa. In Strabo's time it belonged to Tanagra; Pausanias speaks of it as independent (Pausanias, i, 29, 6; Strabo, ix, 2, 12, 404 f.; Pliny, *N. H.*, iv, 12 (2), 26: for the topography, Bursian, *Geographie*, i, p. 223; Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. v, pp. 62–5, and the references there given). There were no marshes there in Strabo's time, but the geographer rightly notes the variability in the drainage of Boeotia, which is caused by frequent earthquakes, and derives Heleon from Helos (Strabo, ix, 2, 17, 406; cf. Eustathius, p. 267). Alternatively the ancients derived the name from the eponym Eleon, who was the son of Eteonos (= Itonos), the son of Boiotos (cf. the genealogy of Peneleos, p. 163 above); Schol. *Iliad*, ii, 497 and 500; Eustathius, p. 265, 33. No doubt the derivation from 'marsh' is correct: compare the name Elieus in Question 40 above.

Unlike Tanagra, Eleon appeared in the *Catalogue* (*Iliad*, ii, 500) and was mentioned also in a disputed passage in *Iliad*, x, 266 (Strabo, ix, 5, 18, 439).

The *aition* has the appearance of an Alexandrine romance. "Die Sage, die als Liebesgeschichte an Sagen wie die von Skylla

und Minos erinnert, könnte wohl in der überlieferten Fassung aus der Zeit der Αἴτια des Kallimachos stammen" (Wörner in Roscher, *Lex.*, s. v. Skamandros). The Alexandrine etymologists derived the name of the Trojan river Σκάμανδρος διὰ τὸ ἐσκάφθαι ὑπ' ἀνδρός (i. e. the thirsty Herakles) or Κάμανδρος, a variation to account for the fact that Homer does not lengthen short vowels before Σκάμανδρος (cf. the similar Homeric practice with regard to σκέπαρνος), οἱονεὶ Κάμανδρον γενόμενον ἤγουν καμάτου ἑαυτῷ παραίτιον (Schol. *Iliad.*, xxi, 1; Eustathius, p. 1197, 55). These derivations may have prompted the setting of the story, the late date of which they thus confirm, in the Trojan expedition of Herakles and not, as one might have expected of a small town proud of its appearance in the *Catalogue*, in the Trojan war.

Deïmachos, the son of Eleon, is otherwise unknown, though he bears a name which is associated with Herakles through Deïmachos, the son of Neleus, whom Herakles slew, and Deïmachos, the father of the three companions of Herakles' expedition against the Amazons, whom the Argonauts picked up on the Halys (see Stoll in Roscher, *Lex.*, i, p. 979). Glaukia is otherwise unknown. More interesting are Akidousa and the Three Maidens who are clearly Charites like those of Orchomenos. The same word seems to recur in the Akidas or Akidon, a tributary of the Anigros (Pausanias, v, 5, 8; Strabo, viii, 3, 21, 348, 27, 351; Strabo reports the variant reading Ἀκίδοντι for Κελάδοντι and Χάας for Φειᾶς in Homer, *Iliad*, vii, 133–5) and possibly in Akis, which was said to be a former name of Siphnos (Pliny, *N. H.*, iv, 12 (22), 66). I am not at all sure even that the place called Ake (Pausanias, viii, 34), where sacrifice to the White Eumenides and the Charites was the rule, may not have belonged to the same category, though there is no doubt that the Greeks translated the name "remedies" and accounted for it by reference to the local story of the healing of Orestes. This may well be the result of popular etymology, and is not in itself much more probable than Seruius's explanation of Akidalia 'quia inicit curas quas Graece ἀκίδας dicunt'.

This series of names does not figure in Fick's list of pre-Greek place-names, though such they may possibly be.

Gruppe's view that Skamandros in the Troad took its name from the Boeotian river is not at all likely. Two alternative explanations remain, either of which might account for the presence of a Skamandros in Boeotia. The occurrence of a Skamandros in Sicily (Strabo, xiii, 608; cf. Pausanias, v, 25, 6) is usually attributed to the propagation of the Aeneas saga in the West. It is possible that similarly the name came to Boeotia from the Troad in historical times, and some support might be drawn for this hypothesis from the interweaving of the legendary genealogies of Boeotia and Troy, of which Hellanikos is the earliest extant exponent. Not far from Boeotian Skamandros is the Boeotian Thermodon, which rises between Glisas and Tanagra

and bears a name with imported Amazonian associations. For a discussion of these analogies see Halliday, *Annals*, xi, pp. 17 f.

The alternative is to suppose that both in the Troad and in Boeotia Skamandros is a pre-Hellenic name, though whether Wörner is right in thinking that the double name in each case, Xanthos-Skamandros and Inachos-Skamandros, necessarily confirms this view, may be questionable. Place-names which appear to be non-Greek are fairly common in Boeotia, particularly in its eastern districts (see Fick, *V. O.*, pp. 24, 62, 78, 81, 84, 128; *Hatt. und Dan.*, pp. 16, 23). Among these Fick places Skamandros, which he classes with Antandros, Andros, Pholegandros, Andeira, and Maiandros, as a Lelegian place-name.

From the alternative name of the river, Inachos, no conclusions can safely be drawn. In fact it is not clear whether this is a Greek word. Probably it was not uncommon as a river-name. Argive Inachos (see Question 51, p. 199 below) overshadowed all the rest, but two other examples can be quoted, the tributary of the Spercheios, which is referred to in Question 13, and the Inachos which rose in Lakmon and was thought to flow underground to join the more famous Argive stream (Sophocles, *Frag.* 27, Pearson-Jebb).

Question 42

Q. *Whence arose the proverbial saying 'This is valid'?*

A. *When Dino the Tarentine, who was a good soldier, was general, and the citizens by show of hands voted against some opinion of his, and the herald announced the winning motion, he stretched out his right hand and said "But this is stronger". For thus Theophrastus has told the story. But Apollodorus † in Rutinos † has further narrated that when the herald announced 'these are in the majority', he retorted 'but these are better', and ratified the vote of the minority.*

The passage in Theophrastus is enumerated (*Frag.* 133) by Wimmer. Whether the Apollodorus, who is here cited, is the comic poet or the grammarian has been disputed. No sense can be made of "Rutinos", nor is there the means of convincing emendation. On this see Müller, *F. H. G.*, iv, p. 650. It is a little curious that neither of Plutarch's quotations contains the actual phrase, *αὗτα κυρία*, of his question.

The hero of this anecdote is not otherwise known. The name Dino is not uncommon, and a number of examples, though our Tarentine does not figure among them, will be found in Müller, *F. H. G.*, ii, p. 88.

The sentiment may remind us of the famous *mot* of Antiphon, which Aristotle recorded in *Eudemian Ethics*, iii, 5 *μᾶλλον ἂν*

φροντίσειεν ἀνὴρ μεγαλόψυχος τί δοκεῖ ἐνὶ σπουδαίῳ ἢ πολλοῖς τοῖς τυγχάνουσιν, ὥσπερ Ἀντιφῶν ἔφη πρὸς Ἀγάθωνα κατεψηφισμένος τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἐπαινέσαντα. I do not know of a nearer parallel to our story in Greek literature, but the type of anecdote is common to all times and countries, and a very similar tale, I am told, was narrated of Abraham Lincoln.

Just after the Persian War the Tarentine aristocracy was wiped out in battle with the Iapygians, with the consequence that the state became more democratic (Aristotle, *Politics*, v, 3, 7, 1303 a). Dino perhaps belongs to the happy days, when the rich shared the use of their property with the poor and half the magistracies were elected by lot and half by vote (Aristotle, *Politics*, vi, 5, 10–11, 1320 b). It was after the lifetime of Theophrastus that prosperity weakened the fibre of a people, who had come to observe more festivals than working days in the year, and, sad symptom of decadence, were obliged to send to foreign lands for military leaders (Strabo, vi, 3, 4, 280). The office of *strategos* is otherwise attested for Tarentum by the example of the philosopher statesman Archytas, the contemporary of Plato (Aelian, *V. H.*, vii, 14).

Question 43

Q. *Whence did the city in Ithaka called Alalkomenai get its name?*

A. *On account of the fact that Antikleia was forced by Sisyphos before her marriage and thence conceived Odysseus. The statement is made by many authorities. And Istros the Alexandrian in his 'Miscellanies' stated further that when she had been given in marriage to Laertes and was being brought home, she bore Odysseus near the Alalkomeneion in Boeotia. And on account of this, he says, the city in Ithaka got this name, as though called after its mother city.*

Istros, whose country of origin is variously stated as Cyrene, Macedon, or Paphos, was a slave by birth who became a pupil of Kallimachos. He wrote both prose and verse, mainly on historical or antiquarian subjects, his most important work being a *Digest of the Local Histories of Attica* (Συναγωγὴ τῶν Ἀτθίδων). The quotation here is taken from his Miscellanies (Σύμμικτα Ὑπομνήματα). For the extant fragments see *F. H. G.*, Müller, i, pp. 418–27.

The existence of the town Alalkomenai upon Ithaka is attested also by Strabo, x, 2, 17, 457. Steph. Byz., s. v. Ἀλκομεναί, states that there is a city in Ithaka of this name, from which Odysseus is called Alkomeneus. I do not know of any other evidence for this title of Odysseus, and the name of the town appears to be a blunder.

Upon the site of Ithakesian Alalkomenai see Leake, *N. Greece*, iii, p. 34, and Bursian, *Geographie*, ii, p. 369. Strabo is mistaken in placing the site upon the island of Asteria. It has been conjectured that the error is due to a misinterpretation of what he read in his source, Apollodorus.

The name is not confined to Ithaka and Boeotia. The Illyrian Alalkomenai of Steph. Byz. may be identical with that mentioned by Strabo, vii, 7, 9, 327, which lay near Aiginion on the upper waters of the Peneios, i. e. in the extreme north-western corner of Thessaly. In Attica there was an Alalkomenian Mount, and Athenians claimed that Kekrops first gave Athena the title of Alalkomeneis (Schol. *Iliad*, iv, 8). Near Mantinea, a little to the north of the local grave of Penelope, was an Alalkomenian spring, which has been identified with the modern Karyda (Pausanias, viii, 12, 7 : topographical references in Frazer's note *ad loc.*).

These place-names are no doubt connected with the distribution of the worship of Athena Alalkomeneïs, her poetic title (e. g. *Iliad*, iv, 8), or Alalkomene, her cult title, in an inscription from Chios, *B. C. H.*, 1877, No. 8, p. 82. The epithet indicates the war-goddess, and may be compared with such titles of Athena as Alkidemos or Areia. The Boeotian month *Alalkomenaios* corresponded to the Aetolian month *Athenaios*.

Alalkomenai in Boeotia was a cult centre of great antiquity, though it figures but little in political history, and by the time of Plutarch nature had completed the work of Sulla's sacrilege, and the shrine was a mere ruin (Pausanias, ix, 34).

Alalkomeneus, in local Boeotian tradition was the first man, and it was in this neighbourhood that the cults of Athena Alalkomena, Tritogeneia, and Itonia had their original home, whence they spread to other places (Farnell, *C. G. S.*, i, pp. 267 f.).

The place-name belongs to a type of a feminine plural formation derived from a divine name of which the most familiar example is Athenai (see Farnell, *C. G. S.*, i, pp. 259, 308). If Professor Nilsson is right in regarding Athena, the war goddess, protector of the city and guardian of the king, as essentially Mycenaean in character and in name (Nilsson, *Die Anfänge der Göttin Athene, Det Kong. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Hist.-filol. Meddelelser*, iv, 7, 1921), some of these place-names may have a pre-Greek ancestry. He would include among them Mykenai itself, regarding the first part of the word as from a pre-Hellenic root, to be paralleled in Mykale or Mykalessos (Nilsson, *History of Greek Religion*, pp. 27–8). But old as the Boeotian cult centre certainly is, Alalkomenai is patently a Greek name. Whether we are to regard *The Protectress* as originally an independent goddess who subsequently became identified with Athena, or whether the title was from the first a cult epithet of Athena would be a nice question to argue, but one impossible to decide.

The reason for a connexion between Athena the Protectress, and

Odysseus is not far to seek, nor is it necessary to look for cults of a "faded god" named Odysseus to explain them. We may perhaps notice the association of this hero with Athene Tritonia, another form of the goddess whose original home was by the Alalkomeneion in Boeotia, in Arcadian Pheneos, where the temple of Athene Tritonia contained a statue of Poseidon Hippios, which Odysseus was said to have dedicated (Pausanias, viii, 14, 4).

The classical references, rather numerous as Plutarch indicates, to the story of the seduction of Antikleia by Sisyphos will be found in Roscher, *Lex.*, iii, pp. 613–14; Robert, *Held.*, p. 177; Pearson-Jebb, *Fragments of Sophocles*, *Frag.* 567; and Jebb's note to Sophocles, *Philoctetes*, 417. It is alluded to by Plutarch in *de aud. poet.*, 3 and *Gryllus*, 10. Details in the versions vary. In some the seduction is a secret crime of Sisyphos, in others it was perpetrated with the knowledge and connivance of Autolycus, the father of the maiden. In some Odysseus was born, not in Boeotia, but on Neriton in Ithaka. All forms of the story, however, appear to be post-Homeric, and probably in origin Attic. It first appears in Aeschylus (*Frag.* 175; Sidgwick, 172; Dindorf), and it is a favourite topic of allusion in the Attic drama, in which that slim knave, οὐμπολητὸς Σισύφου Λαερτίῳ, is, upon the whole, unsympathetically portrayed in contrast to the noble simplicity of more tragical epic characters.

It is probable that this legend of the parentage of Odysseus has no more recondite origin than the desire to bring all the legendary men of cunning into an hereditary relationship. This would square with Greek ideas about heredity and also with the love of tidiness which is characteristic of the manipulation of their legends by Greek scholars from the earliest times. Homer had made Autolycus the maternal grandfather of the man of many wiles; Sinon was his cousin; now Sisyphos is brought in as his father.

Although this seems to me sufficient to account for our story, we ought perhaps to notice a certain tendency to link up Boeotian with Corinthian and Sicyonian legend, which may just possibly have contributed to the version of Istros. Thus, according to Asios, the human husband of Antiope was Epopeus of Sicyon: Eumelus made her at Corinth the wife of Helios and the mother of Aietes and Aloeus. At Thebes and Tithorea (Pausanias, ix, 17, x, 32, 10) her husband was said to be Phokos, the grandson of Sisyphos. She was on her way home to Boeotia from the Peloponnese, when she bore Amphion and Zethos at Eleutherae. In the *Kypria* she was ravished by Epopeus (references in Robert, *Held.*, pp. 114 f.). Similar is the trend of the legend which made Oedipus grow up in Corinth or Sicyon. I should doubt, in any case, this connexion being very ancient, and should suspect it to be the product of the later cyclic poets. On the relation of the *Alkmaeonis* to the Theban cycle see Bethe, *Thebanische Heldenlieder*, pp. 140 f.

Question 44

Q. *Who are the solitary eaters in Aigina?*

A. *Of those Aiginetans who served in the Trojan War many were lost in the battles and yet more on the voyage home in the storm. There were, therefore, few survivors to be received by their kinsfolk, and these, seeing that the other citizens were in mourning and grief, considered that it was not right publicly either to make rejoicing or to sacrifice to the gods. But secretly and each in his own house, they received those who had come home safe with feasting and good cheer, themselves waiting upon their fathers, kinsmen, brothers, and relatives, no one outside the family being allowed in. It is then in imitation of this that they celebrate the sacrifice to Poseidon, the so-called 'thiasoi', in which they feast by themselves for sixteen days in silence and no slave is present. Then celebrating the Aphrodisia, they bring the feast to an end. And from this they are called 'solitary eaters'.*

For the source T. W. Allen (*Homer*, p. 333) suggests the Αἰγινητικά of Theagenes (Müller, *F. H. G.*, iv, p. 511). Equally possible is the Αἰγινητικά of Pythaenetus (Müller, *F. H. G.*, iv, p. 487). Neither author is elsewhere explicitly quoted by Plutarch. Another possibility is that the source from which Plutarch immediately drew was the Aristotelian *Constitution of the Aiginetans*, for the existence of which see Rose, *Frag.* 432.

For the *aition*, Aigina is mentioned as a possession of Argos in the *Catalogue* (*Iliad*, ii, 562) but nowhere else in the Homeric poems, rather a remarkable fact in view of the legendary and historical fame of the island. Mr. Allen (*Homer*, p. 333) explains that Aigina was then desolate and but recently acquired by Argos. He quotes the Proclan epitome of Agias's *Nostoi* as including the Aiginetans. The storm of the story was no doubt that in which Ajax perished.

The festival here described is discussed by Nilsson (*G. F.*, pp. 73–4), who has missed, however, the analogy which some features of the Attic *Choes* provide.

The nature of the festival is plainly that of a gentile or family celebration, each group of relatives performing the rites apart. Its restriction to members of the same family explains the taboo upon the presence of slaves. Compare Isaeus, viii, 16, 71 τῷ Διὶ θύων τῷ Κτησίῳ περὶ ἣν μάλιστ' ἐκεῖνος θυσίαν ἐσπούδαζε καὶ οὔτε δούλους προσῆγεν οὔτε ἐλευθέρους ὀθνείους. The character of the festival of Hera in Kos, at which no slave might enter the temple nor taste of the sacrifice (Makareus in Athenaeus, vi, 81, 262, xiv, 44, 639), is not known, but this feast of the goddess of the marriage rite

may have been connected with the social structure of the Koans. The exclusion of slaves from some state festivals, as opposed to gentile festivals, in Greece and Italy, for which see Diels, *Sibyllinische Blätter*, pp. 96–8, seems to me to be a different matter.

Each group of relatives forms a *thiasos*, the members of which wait upon themselves. The *thiasos* appears to have been Dionysiac in origin, and the Orphic brotherhoods provide its most familiar examples. In them the bond of union was not that of physical relationship, but purely that of religious association. The famous Demotionid inscription, however, shows that the Athenian *phratries* in the fourth century B.C. were organized in *thiasoi* (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 921; Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles und Athen*, ii, pp. 259 f.).

Nilsson no doubt is right in supposing that the general character of the Aiginetan feast presents analogies to that of the *Apatouria*.

If any deduction may safely be made from the *aition*, it would be that this family festival had associations of mingled joy and mourning, or at least that at it the family dead were had in remembrance. This recalls the Athenian *Anthesteria*, at which the family dead were thought to revisit their homes, and upon one day of which a somewhat similar ritual was observed. Both the Atthidographers (Athenaeus, x, 49, 437 c; Schol. Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 960, *Knights*, 95; Plutarch, *Quaest. Conuiu.*, ii, 10, 643 A; Suidas, s. v. Χόες) and Euripides (*Iph. Taur.*, 949 f.), though there is a slight variation of detail in their respective versions of the treatment of Orestes by the Athenian king, agree that the celebrants at the *Choes* sat apart at separate tables, a custom which was said to have arisen from the visit of the bloodguilty Orestes. Like the Aiginetan festival the *Choes* ended with carousings, to which the title *Aphrodisia* (see below, p. 185) would not be inappropriate (Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 1198 f.).

Why Poseidon should be the god of this gentile festival we do not know. He is not, like Zeus or Apollo, a god who in general is pre-eminently associated with the social structure of Greek communities. On the other hand specific clans worshipped him as Phratrios (Labyadae at Delphi) or Pater (Eumolpidae at Eleusis). At Sparta he was γενέθλιος and δωματίτης and at Lerna γενέσιος. Further it may be remembered that Aigina, for the possession of which Poseidon had vainly striven with Zeus (Plutarch, *Quaest. Conuiu.*, ix, 6, 741 A), belonged to the Kalaurian League (see above, p. 105) and to a group of states of the north-east Peloponnese in which the cult of Poseidon was especially prominent.[1] Again, as Nilsson with truth points out, there is great local variation in the deities who are concerned with the partially analogous *Apatouria* (for these variations see Nilsson, *G. F.*, p. 464).

[1] For the references see Nilsson, *G. F.*, p. 74, n. 1; Farnell, *C. G. S.*, iv, pp. 9 foll. At Troizen Poseidon was worshipped as Βασιλεύς and Πολιοῦχος.

The duration of sixteen days is abnormally long for a Greek festival. The attribution of two months in the story of Aristippus and Lais (Athenaeus, xiii, 55, 588 E), is certainly incredible, but it so far confirms Plutarch by indicating that it was in fact a long-drawn affair.

The festival was closed by the *Aphrodisia*. This title, however, was loosely applied in antiquity to private social festivities and banquets at which courtezans were present. Xenophon (*Hell.*, v, 4, 4), for instance, applies it to the party at which the Theban patriots carried out their plot by obtaining admission disguised as *hetairai*. *Aphrodisia* does not, therefore, necessarily imply a solemn feast to the goddess Aphrodite, and here probably it signifies no more than that the festival concluded with a carousal (Nilsson, *G. F.*, pp. 375–6). This view is confirmed by the two stories of courtezans in Athenaeus (xiii, 55, 588 E and xiii, 59, 590 F), in which the feast is called *Poseidonia*. Strictly speaking, during the earlier stage of the festival, when even servants were excluded, i. e. the *Poseidonia* or *Thiasoi* proper, courtezans could not have been present at the silent meals of the blood-relations. But at the final episode, which Plutarch calls *Aphrodisia*, the carousal which breaks the feast, they were no doubt prominent, just as they were at the *Choes*. The merry-making and sexual license of these festivals has, of course, a magico-religious origin in the desire to create happiness and fertility in the community during the coming year.

We have no information as to the date of the Aiginetan festival. The story of Phryne shows that it was then warm enough to bathe, but the bathing season begins early in Greece. I should conjecture that like the Attic *Anthesteria* the Aiginetan *Thiasoi* were probably celebrated in early spring.

Question 45

Q. *Why is it that the image of Labrandean Zeus in Caria is fashioned holding aloft an axe and not a sceptre nor a thunderbolt?*

A. *Because Herakles after slaying Hippolyte took her axe among her other arms and gave it as a gift to Omphale. But the kings of Lydia after Omphale bore it as a part of the sacred regalia, receiving it in succession, until Kandaules, disdaining to do so, gave it to one of his Companions to carry. But when Gyges revolted and made war upon him, Arselis of Mylasa came with a force as a mercenary of Gyges, and he slew both Kandaules and his Companion and carried off the axe to Caria with the other spoils. And having fashioned an image of Zeus, he placed the axe in his hand and gave the god the title of Labrandeus. For the Lydians name the axe 'labrys'.*

To the source of this question there is no clue beyond that it would appear to be drawn from an Hellenistic writer. For I cannot help thinking that ἑταῖρος has here the technical sense of " member of the Royal Bodyguard " of the Hellenistic monarchies, which it could not have had before Philip. For the organization of the Companions of Philip and Alexander see Tarn, *C. A. H.*, vi, pp. 205 f., 389 f., and Plaumann in *P. W.*, viii, pp. 1374–80.

Very many theories have been erected upon the somewhat insecure foundation of this passage. There is no reason to doubt that *labrys* was a Lydian word for *pelekus*, the double-bladed axe. Whether it has any real connexion with Labrandeus is more doubtful. The whole point of Plutarch's story is to explain how it was that a *Lydian* word came to be connected with a *Carian* god and place-name, i. e. to reinforce what is at best an etymological guess. Whether *labrys* also meant 'axe' in Carian we do not know; presumably Plutarch thought not, for otherwise the explanation is unnecessary. This point has been independently made by Nilsson, *M. M. R.*, p. 190.

The evidence with regard to Zeus Labrandeus is very completely collected in the references given in Schaefer, *de Iove apud Cares culto, Diss. Phil. Hal.*, xx, 4, 1912, p. 1 f., and in Cook, *Zeus*, ii, pp. 559–99, though I am unable to agree with much of the latter's commentary upon it. Of the title there are some dozen variations of form Labrandeus, Lambraundos, Labraundos, Labrendos, Labrayndos, &c. (Cook, p. 585). In my view it is probably derived from the village in which the temple lay, just as Zeus Larasios took his name from the village Larasa near Tralles (Head, *H. N.*, p. 659). The true cult title of the god appears to have been Stratios (Herodotus, v, 169). Strabo (xiv, 2, 23, 658 f.) tells us that Zeus Osogoa (cf. Pausanias, viii, 10, 4, where the salt spring in his temple is mentioned) was worshipped at Mylasa and Zeus Labraundeus at Labraunda, a village which stood on a hill, was connected with the city by a sacred road, and contained a *xoanon* of Zeus Stratios. (For literature on the topography see Cook, pp. 588 f.)

In view of the current assumption that the double axe of this god is an instrument of the god of thunder, we may notice that the more natural supposition is that the weapon was the battle-axe of Zeus Lord of Hosts, a view with which Plutarch, who thinks it to have been the battle-axe of the Queen of the Amazons, would presumably concur.

The double axe of the god is attested by coins, some of which clearly reproduce the cult statue holding an axe in one hand and a spear in the other (Head, *H. N.*, p. 622; Cook, pp. 572 f.). The archaeological evidence that upon some late monuments the god is represented with breasts and is therefore androgynous (Foucart, *Des Associations religieuses*, pp. 104–7) or is in some way confused with the Anatolian mother-goddess (Cook) will be

found in Cook, pp. 592–3, Figs. 496, 497. It appears inconclusive, nor am I personally convinced that the artist of these reliefs has intended to represent *mammae*. Zeus Labraundeus was worshipped at Kos, Halikarnassos, Stratonikeia, and in various places in the Carian area including Miletus: his cult even reached Piraeus and Cyprus (Cook, pp. 585–6, 1228; Schaefer, *op. cit.*, pp. 358–61).

It can hardly be doubted that originally the Carian god, who became known to the Greeks as Zeus Stratios or Labraundeus, was a local version of the divine male figure armed with an axe, whose worship appears to have been distributed all over Asia Minor. The armed male figure which appears associated with the goddess in Cretan and Mycenaean art is no doubt his Minoan counterpart. Upon the basis of analogies, which do not seem to me convincing, his axe is usually interpreted as a thunder-weapon. He is to be seen in attendance upon the goddess in the celebrated Hittite relief from Boghaz Keui, and he reappears in Lydia and in other parts of Asia Minor under a variety of names, Sandas, Tyrimnos, &c. (see Keil in *Anatolian Studies presented to Sir William Ramsay*, pp. 265–6). The Greeks most frequently identified him with either Herakles or Apollo. I think it not improbable that monuments representing this Anatolian deity of the lion and the double axe in attendance upon a goddess may have played a part in the localization of the story of Herakles and Omphale in Lydia.

Turning to our *aition*, the implication is that it is founded upon a version in which Omphale fell in love with Herakles and became by him the mother of the Lydian royal house. That in itself brands it as relatively late.

The story of Omphale is discussed in Wilamowitz, *Herakles*, second edition, pp. 71 f., Tümpel in Roscher, *Lex.*, iii, pp. 870 f.; Robert, *Held.*, pp. 589–94; Farnell, *H. C.*, pp. 140–1.

Even if, with Farnell, we doubt whether the place-name Omphalion and the tribe of Omphaliees are adequate grounds for postulating a Thesprotian origin for the story, it is difficult to reject the conclusion which Wilamowitz draws from observing that the adventures of Herakles in the service of Omphale are all definitely connected with the area round the head of the Malian Gulf. In our tradition, however, Omphale is uniformly queen of Lydia: Wilamowitz may be right in thinking that she was first transferred to Asia by Kreophylos of Samos.

In this localization it is possible that Anatolian monuments of the type above referred to may have played a part. The Greek view that the Lydian dynasty was descended from Herakles may also have been originally independent of the story of Omphale and so have contributed to its later form. For Herakles, whose wanderings and sexual capacity both qualify him for the role, was for the Greeks a kind of universal progenitor of the royal families

of foreign peoples. Thus the Macedonian royal house (Herodotus, viii, 137), the Scythian kings (Herodotus, iv, 9), and the Kelts (Parthenius, *Narr. Am.*, 30) were descended from him.

It will be noted that in Herodotus the ancestress of the Lydian kings is not Omphale but an unnamed slave girl. In fact the love motive in the story of the relations of Herakles and Omphale, which is absent from Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, first appears in the attacks of Attic comedy upon Pericles and Aspasia. The further elaboration of the change of clothes, Herakles spinning and Omphale with the club and lion's skin, does not make its appearance earlier than in Hellenistic art. This is important, for it knocks away the foundation from speculations about Lydian mother-right, which as regards the royal house is explicitly contradicted by Herodotus (παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδεκόμενος τὴν ἀρχήν, i, 7), and androgynous cults (e.g. Frazer, *G. B.*, *Attis Adonis and Osiris*, pp. 148 f.), which have been based upon the late and degenerate features of the story.

The version which is adapted in our passage will not then be earlier than the Old Comedy. Further it betrays artificial manipulation. The campaign of Herakles against the Amazons, which was originally an independent adventure but subsequently became included in the *dodekathlos* (see Robert, *Held.*, pp. 462 f., 558 f.), is nowhere else brought into connexion with the servitude to Omphale. Nor in other versions of the campaign against the Amazons is there mention anywhere of Hippolyte's axe, but the prize is always the girdle of the Amazon queen. On the other hand, antique objects of art were not infrequently explained as Amazon trophies; for example, there is the Bronze Age *mitra* at the Heraion at Mycenae (see Robert, *Held.*, pp. 462–3; Pfister, *Reliquienkult*, i, p. 335) or the Amazon relics at Delphi (Euripides, *Ion*, 1142 f.). A double axe would have a good claim to be so regarded for there is plentiful archaeological evidence (references in Cook, *Zeus*, ii, p. 560) for Amazons being armed with the double-bladed *pelekus* or the *sagaris*, a battle-axe with one blade and a spike.

I therefore suspect that our story starts from the theory that the word Labraundeus is derived from *labrys*. The problem then is to explain why a Lydian word should have given rise to a Carian place-name. Like the *mitra* at Mycenae, the double-bladed battle-axe of the god is explained as an Amazon relic. If so, it must have been secured by Herakles. His connexion with Omphale will explain how it got to Lydia. Whether Lydian kings before Kandaules really carried a sacred axe among the regalia may remain an open question (compare the stories, upon which this may have been modelled, of the Scythian plough, yoke, *sagaris*, and cup of gold in Herodotus, iv, 5–7, or the bow and belt with the dish-shaped clasp in Herodotus, iv, 9). After Gyges they clearly did not, and this story does not appear to be

very authoritative evidence for the actuality of the alleged earlier custom.

Arselis, whom there are no grounds for regarding as an hypostasis of a cult title of Zeus (see Cook, *Zeus*, ii, p. 559, n. 6), and his Carian mercenaries, although not elsewhere attested, may be historical. That Gyges employed Carians in his *coup d'état* is not in itself improbable: Carians were among the 'men of bronze' whom he sent to help the Saite rebel in Egypt. But beyond the fact that he was a usurper who murdered his master with the connivance of the queen, general features in which two of the main traditions of which the third belongs purely to fairy tale agree, we know nothing of Gyges' rise to power (see Wells, *Studies in Herodotus*, pp. 19 f., where it is suggested that Gyges was really a Cimmerian).

That in fact the axe of the cult statue at Labraunda was brought home by the Carian captain is in any case improbable in view of the wide Anatolian distribution of the worship of a male deity similarly armed.

Question 46

Q. *Why is it that the people of Tralles call vetch purifier and use it specially for ritual cleansings and purifications?*

A. *Is it because Leleges and Minyans in olden time drove them out and held the city and the land, but afterwards the Trallians returned and gained the mastery; but as many of the Leleges as did not perish nor flee but were left there through destitution and weakness, of these they made no account living or dead, and they established a law that any Trallian who killed a Minyan or a Lelegian should be pure, if he measured out a bushel of vetch to the relatives of the murdered man?*

To the source of this question there is no clue.

ὄροβος, the *eruum* of Horace's rustic ('me silua cauusque | tutus ab insidiis tenui solabitur eruo', *Satires*, ii, 6, 116), was one of the vetches, of which several varieties were eaten both green and dry (see Athenaeus, ii, 44, 54, on ἐρέβινθοι), in the latter case being roasted like chestnuts (Aristophanes, *Peace*, 1136). ὄροβος was also used for cattle food (Athenaeus, ix, 69, 406 E), and the point of our story rests not upon any mystical or religious associations of the vetch, but upon its lack of value. Compare Demosthenes, *Androt.*, 15, 598 τὸν τελευταῖον γὰρ ἴστε τὸν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πόλεμον, ὅτε μὲν ναῦς οὐκ ἐδοκεῖτ' ἀποστεῖλαι δυνήσεσθαι, πῶς διέκειθ' ἡ πόλις· ἴστ' ὀρόβους ὄντας ὠνίους. Compare ἔπειτα πλουτῶν οὐκέθ' ἥδεται φακῇ, Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 1004. See further Hehn-Schrader, *Kulturpflanzen und Hausthiere*, pp. 208 f.

Eitrem (*Opferritus*, p. 269) regards the vetch as having been primarily a piacular offering to the dead. This guess may possibly be right, but it rests upon no substantial evidence. The preliminary sprinkling with grain which preceded sacrifice was regarded in historical times as purificatory (see above, p. 53). It may be that at Tralles it was customary to use vetches in place of barley. Variations in the medium employed in this sprinkling are not unknown elsewhere. Thus at the barrow of Tereus in Megara there obtained the curious custom of using gravel instead of barley groats (Pausanias, i, 41, 9) and, still closer to our Trallian usage, boiled ὄσπρια were used for the ἀπαρχαι at the consecration of new altars or divine images (Schol. Aristoph., *Peace*, 923; *Plutus*, 1198).

Tralles was a town in Caria happily situated in a fertile district at the junction of high roads. At different times it had borne the alternative names of Charax, Anthia, Euanthia, Eurymna, Seleucia, and Antiochia (Steph. Byz., s.vv., Χάραξ, Τράλλις; Pliny *N. H.*, v, 29 (29), 108), the two last of which point to the interest of the Seleucids in this prosperous site. The bounty of Augustus repaired its losses in the great earthquake, and during the principate it was a prosperous community of wealthy citizens (Strabo, xiv, 2, 42, 648, xii, 8, 18, 579; Tacitus, *Annals*, iv, 55). For the topography see Fellows, *Asia Minor*, p. 276; *Lycia*, p. 16; for the coins see Head, *H. N.*, pp. 659–61. Plutarch, possibly from the same ultimate source, elsewhere narrates the portent of the palm tree which grew through a stone floor at Tralles at the time of Caesar's victory at Pharsalia (Plutarch, *Caesar*, 47).[1]

The *aition* is of interest as reflecting the typical vicissitudes of fortune and the gradual process by which the Anatolian sites came eventually into Greek hands (see Hogarth in *C. A. H.*, ii, pp. 542–62). The alien population is represented as consisting of Minyans and Lelegians, with whom may be compared the Minyans and Carians of Teos (Pausanias, vii, 3, 3). The Minyan Argonauts were, of course, generally reckoned as Greeks, but at least a tinge of barbarism seems to attach to the descendants of these pioneers (compare the story of Minyan exiles from Lemnos in Laconia, Herodotus, iv, 145 f.).

According to Schol., *Iliad*, x, 429, Pelasgians, a name which in practice is equivalent merely to pre-Hellenic aborigines, were the original inhabitants of Tralles. The current account represents the Greek settlement at Tralles as having been formed by Argives and Thracians (Strabo, xiv, 2, 42, 649). The Thracians owe their presence to a deduction from the name of the town. The Thracian tribe of Tralleis offered opposition to Agesilaos on his way from the Hellespont to Coronea (Plutarch, *Agesilaos*, 16). If we may trust Hesychius (Τραλλεῖς· οὕτως ἐκαλοῦντο μισθοφόροι

[1] This is mentioned also in Caesar, *de Bell. Civ.*, iii, 105, but the other portents which the two passages mention are not the same.

Θρᾷκες τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν, οἱ τὰς φονικὰς χρείας πληροῦντες), this tribal name became a generic term for a type of Thracian mercenary.

An alternative derivation of the name from an eponymous founder Tralleus, who presumably was one of the Argives, is attested by a coin which bears his figure (Head, *H. N.*, p. 661).

Question 47

Q. *Why have the Eleans a proverbial saying 'to fare worse than Sambikos'?*

A. *It is said that a certain Elean named Sambikos, having many confederates under him, clipped the bronze off many of the dedications in Olympia and disposed of it, and finally robbed the temple of Artemis Episkopos. Now this is in Elis and is called the Aristarcheion. Immediately after this sacrilege, he was caught and tortured for a whole year, being put to the question about his confederates one by one, and so he died, and the proverb took rise from his sufferings.*

The source of this question may be the same as that of Question 52. In neither case is there any indication of what it was. Aristotle's *Constitution of the Eleans* (Rose, *Frags.* 450–1) is not impossible, but I am inclined to think not very probable. Istros (Müller, *F. H. G.*, i, p. 424), Teupalos (*ibid.*, iv, p. 509), and Polemon (*ibid.*, iii, pp. 121–2) all wrote Ἡλιακά. Of these Polemon's discussions of ἀπήνη and πώλους Ἐνέτας suggest him as a possible source for Question 52. A good many other writings upon Olympia and Olympic victors are known. There is really no means for guessing the source with reasonable probability.

Although Plutarch calls Sambikos an Elean, the name does not appear to be Greek. I am inclined to suspect it of being a nickname or servile name derived from the instrument *sambuke*.[1] I cannot recall such a name derived from a musical instrument, but proper names derived from professions (e.g. Therapon, a Corcyrean slave) were not uncommon (see Fick and Bechtel, *Die gr. Personennamen*, p. 360).

For the professional methods of Sambikos and his gang compare Juvenal, xiii, 150 f.

> Haec ibi si non sunt, minor exstat sacrilegus qui
> radat inaurati femur Herculis et faciem ipsam
> Neptuni, qui bratteolam de Castore ducat.

[1] Τῇ σαμβύκῃ πρώτην φησὶ χρησάσθαι Σίβυλλαν, ἧς Σκάμων ὁ προειρημένος· ὀνομασθῆναι δ' αὐτὴν εὑρεσθεῖσαν ὑπὸ Σάμβυκος τινός, Athenaeus, xiv, 637 B. This four-stringed instrument, which came to Greece from the Eastern Levant, was mentioned by Juba and others. Euphorion, in his *Treatise on the Isthmian Games*, declared it to be the same as the *barbiton*. See Athenaeus, iv, 182 E, 175 D, 633 F; Müller, *F. H. G.*, ii, p. 286, iii, pp. 73, 481.

The parallel passages in Greek and Latin literature are exhaustively collected by the minute erudition of J. E. B. Mayor in his notes upon these lines and upon Juvenal, xiv, 261–2.

Neither Artemis Episkopos nor the Aristarcheion is mentioned by Pausanias in his description of Elis, nor can I find any other mention of them elsewhere.

Artemis is addressed by Kallimachos (*Hymn. ad Art.*, 38, cf. line 259) as Episkopos of highways and harbours. In Elis the epithet will hardly have this specialized nautical sense but rather be used in the sense of 'tutelary deity', for which there is abundant evidence in the tragedians (see references in Liddell and Scott, s.vv. ἐπισκοπέω, ἐπίσκοπος). Of its use as a cult title of any deity I can quote no other example, but analogous are Epopetes (Zeus), Epopis (Demeter), Epoptes (Zeus), and Epopsios (Zeus and Apollo). All these are attested by Hesychius, s.vv., another of whose glosses is ἐποπίδες· ἐπίσκοποι.

Upon the name Aristarcheion I can throw no light. Zeus is addressed as Aristarchos by Simonides (*Frag.* 231, Bergk) and Bacchylides (52 (45), Bergk). But why the shrine of Artemis at Elis should have borne this name, I do not know.

Question 48

Q. *Why is an herôon of Odysseus erected at Sparta near the shrine of the Leukippides?*

A. *Ergiaios, one of the descendants of Diomedes, being persuaded by Temenos, stole the Palladium from Argos. An accomplice of his, who helped him to steal it, was Leagros, one of the familiars of Temenos. But afterwards Leagros quarrelled with Temenos and migrated to Lacedaemon, taking the Palladium with him.*

Now the kings gave it a warm welcome and set it up near to the shrine of the Leukippides, and sent to Delphi to inquire of the oracle concerning its safety and preservation. The god replied that they must make one of those who stole the Palladium its guardian, so they erected there the herôon of Odysseus, especially as the city had ties with the hero through his marriage with Penelope.

There is no clue to Plutarch's source. It is pretty clear that the story belongs to the history of Sparta's early struggle for the mastery of the Peloponnese in the seventh and sixth centuries, a period when the eagerness for the acquisition of relics for political purposes was at its zenith. We may compare the analogous episode in the story of Sparta's struggle with the other stubborn opponent of her northward expansion, the tale of how the bones

of Orestes were discovered and brought to Sparta and so victory at long last was achieved over Tegea (Herodotus, i, 67 f.).

The Leukippides, for whom see Kuhnert in Roscher, *Lex.*, ii, pp. 1988–96, and Farnell, *H. C.*, pp. 229–33, do not here concern us, for the passage does not in any way connect the cult of Odysseus with that of the Leukippides. Their shrine, for which see Pausanias, iii, 16, 1, is mentioned only to indicate the precise locality of the herôon, and they play no part in the story of its institution.

The story of the theft of the Palladium by Odysseus and Diomedes (Wörner in Roscher, *Lex.*, iii, pp. 1302–24; Robert, *Held.*, pp. 1225–37), to which there is no allusion in the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*, was treated in the later epic and became one of the favourite episodes in the siege of Troy in subsequent tradition. It is handled frequently by vase-painters and dramatists, and eventually in the *Aeneid*. In Nilsson's view (*A History of Greek Religion*, p. 26, and in greater detail in *Die Anfänge der Göttin Athena*, see also *M. M. R.*, pp. 429 f.), the belief in a Palladium and the connexion of this type of image with Athena is derived from the domestic cult of the princes of the Bronze Age of a goddess, whose shrine was in the heart of the palace.

The existence of Palladia in many different states, each of which was claimed to be the authentic Palladium from Troy, is no doubt the origin of the story (Dion. Hal., i, 60 f.; Konon, 34) that, in order to preserve the genuine image, one or a number of imitations were made by Dardanos. The genuine article was attested by its miraculous power of rolling its eyes (Virgil, *Aeneid*, ii, 172, and Seruius, *ad Aen.*, ii, 166). This, as Robert has suggested, is the probable explanation of the cult title ὀξυδερκής attached to the statue of Athena at Argos which was said to have been founded by Diomedes (Pausanias, ii, 24, 2, who gives a different explanation of the title).

Possibly Athena Ophthalmitis (Pausanias, iii, 18, 2) or Optiletis (Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 11) at Sparta is none other than the Palladium which Odysseus is summoned here to guard, though in both passages her worship is said to have been founded by Lycurgus after an accident to his eye in a political brawl.

However this may be, the claim to possess the authentic Palladium, like the claim to possess the original Tauric Artemis (see p. 111 above), was made by so many places that even in antiquity sensible people became sceptical (*καὶ τὸ τῶν Τροάδων δὲ τόλμημα περιφέρεται πολλαχοῦ καὶ ἄπιστον φαινέται καίπερ δυνατὸν ὄν*, Strabo, vi, 1, 14, 264) and others were driven to desperate shifts ('et Orestem quidem ferunt non unum simulacrum Dianae nec uno loco posuisse, sed multa in multis,' Lampridius, *Heliogabalus*, 7). Besides Sparta and Argos, Athens, several towns in south Italy, and finally Lauinium and Rome (references in *P. R.*, i, p. 226; Pfister, *Reliquienkult*, i, pp. 340–4) claimed to possess

the authentic image. In each case, for obvious reasons, an explanation had to be offered of how the image had come to be there.[1]

Of Ergiaios and Leagros there is no other mention in extant Greek literature. Our story evidently supposes that Diomedes brought the Palladium home to Argos and that it there remained in charge of his descendants. Before the Heraclid Temenos could capture Argos it was necessary for him to get hold of the Palladium, and this was effected by his adherent Leagros in collusion with its traitorous guardian. Under the new régime Leagros is given charge of the statue, quarrels with his master and carries it off to Sparta, thereby justifying the Spartan ambition, which was never completely to be substantiated, to place her most considerable rival in the Peloponnese under her heel.

The story of the oracle and the summoning of Odysseus to guard it accord well with the practice of the sixth century. Compare the summoning of Melanippos by Cleisthenes of Sicyon in order to keep Adrastos in his place (Herodotus, v, 67).

Our passage lends no support whatever to the view which sees in Odysseus 'a faded god'. The cults of the hero Odysseus (for which see Farnell, *H. C.*, p. 326; Pfister, *Reliquienkult*, i, p. 148) are not in fact very widely distributed. Apart from Sparta, he was worshipped in Epirus and at an oracular tomb in Aetolia (see p. 80 above); a shrine in Ithaka is attested by Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 558; his cult was introduced at Tarentum ([Aristotle], *mir. ausc.*, 106), and he had an altar upon an island in the Little Syrtis, which was supposed to be the Island of the Lotos-eaters (Strabo, xvii, 3, 17, 834).

The received genealogy (for an alternative version see p. 80 above) made Penelope the daughter of the Spartan, Ikarios. With the story of her wooing and marriage to Odysseus were associated two Spartan foundations, the temple of Athena Keleutheia (Pausanias, iii, 12, 4) and the shrine of Aidos (Pausanias, iii, 20, 10).

Question 49

Q. *Why have the women of Chalkedon the custom, when they meet strangers and particularly magistrates, to veil the other cheek?*

A. *There was war between them and the Bithynians to which they were incited by every provocation. When Zeipoites was king, with all their forces and reinforced by Thracian mercenaries they overran the country with fire and sword. But Zeipoites, attacking them by the so-called*

[1] For the rival versions explaining how the Palladium, from which the Athenian court of accidental homicide took its name, came to Athens see Robert, *Held.*, pp. 1235-7.

Phalion, they fought badly on account of fool-hardiness and lack of discipline and lost more than eight thousand men. And indeed they were not then completely annihilated because Zeipoites granted a settlement out of favour to the Byzantines.

Now owing to the great lack of men in the city, most of the women from necessity consorted with freedmen and resident aliens. But those who preferred spinsterhood to marriage of this kind, acted for themselves whenever they had business with the judges or the magistrates, drawing up the near side of their face-veils. Those, then, who had married, out of shame, imitated them as being better than themselves and adopted a like custom.

Of the source of this Question there is no indication. It may have been drawn from one of the writers of Βιθυνιακά, Asklepiades Myrleanus (Müller, *F. H. G.*, iii, p. 300), Demosthenes Bithynus (*ibid.*, iv, p. 384) or Περὶ Βιθυνίας, Alexander Polyhistor (*ibid.*, iii, p. 232), Artemidorus of Ascalon (*ibid.*, iv, p. 340). Little is known of these works save their existence, and such citations as are extant are of no help. Perhaps the most likely source is the περιπέτειαι of Nikandros of Chalkedon (Müller, *F. H. G.*, iv, p. 462), who evidently included scandal about Prusias and may have dealt with his predecessor.

Zeipoites or Ziboites, the son of Bas, came to the throne between 328 and 325 B.C. and died before the Gauls invaded Asia (see Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, p. 93). An exceptionally able man, he successfully maintained his independence against Lysimachus, and after the death of Lysimachus, against Seleucus. He is, indeed, the true founder of the independent kingdom of Bithynia. He first assumed the title of 'king' in 297 B.C. (Bevan, *op. cit.*, pp. 98, 123, and Brandis in *P. W.*, iii, p. 515). The terrible defeat of the Chalkedonians at Phalion must belong to the war of which there is a notice in Diodorus, xix, 60. In 315 B.C. Ptolemaeus, the general of Antigonus Monophthalmos, found Chalkedon and Astakos being hard pressed by Ziboites, and it was he, not the Byzantines, who seems to have effected a settlement between the contending parties. ποιησάμενος δὲ συμμαχίαν πρός τε τὰς πόλεις ταύτας καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ζιβοίτην λαβὼν ὁμήρους προῆγεν ἐπὶ Ἰωνίας καὶ Λυδίας.

The very close association between the two Megarian colonies of Byzantium and Chalkedon throughout their history is well known (see Ruge in *P. W.*, x, pp. 1555–9, and for the numismatic evidence Head, *H. N.*, p. 511). According to Theopompos it was the evil communications of the Byzantines which corrupted the good manners of the Chalkedonians (Athenaeus, xii, 32, 526 F).

The treatment of their Bithynian slaves by the Byzantines was

notorious (Athenaeus, vi, 101, p. 271), and the relations between the two Greek states and the natives of Bithynia were consistently hostile and distinguished by atrocities on both sides. For the Bithynians, Xenophon (*Anab.*, vi, 4, 2) says of them καὶ οὓς ἂν λάβωσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκπίπτοντας ἢ ἄλλως πως, δεινὰ ὑβρίζειν λέγονται τοὺς Ἕλληνας. On the other side there is Diodorus's account (xii, 82, 2) of an episode in 416 B.C., about a century earlier than the disaster at Phalion, which shows how typical was the Chalkedonian foray which led to it. Βυζάντιοι δὲ καὶ Χαλκηδόνιοι παραλαβόντες Θρᾷκας ἐστράτευσαν εἰς τὴν Βιθυνίαν πολλοῖς πλήθεσι καὶ τήν τε χώραν ἐπόρθησαν καὶ πολλὰ τῶν μικρῶν πολισμάτων ἐκπολιορκήσαντες ἐπετέλεσαν πράξεις ὠμότητι διαφερούσας· πολλῶν γὰρ αἰχμαλώτων κρατήσαντες ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων ἅπαντας ἀπέσφαξαν.

It is not in itself very probable that in fact the fashion in women's veiling at Chalkedon was set thus late by the historical disaster at Phalion. It was, of course, the Greek way to derive all customs from the consequences of some specific historical or legendary event. Thus, for example, the genesis of the Thracian practice of tattooing was explained by a Hellenistic version of the death of Orpheus (Plutarch, *de ser. num. uind.*, 12, 557 B; Robert, *Held.*, p. 405), and we have been given above in Question 16 an alleged historical origin for the costume of Megarian women. Again, the theory, in itself not very probable, that the custom arose with a part of the women and thence spread to become universal, may be paralleled in *Quaest. Rom.*, 100, where the ceremonial summer washing of Roman women's hair is alleged to have spread from the practice of the slave girls washing their heads upon the summer slave holiday.

Owing to the small scale of the city states a considerable military catastrophe might have far-reaching consequences, e.g. the constitutional changes which resulted from the Tarentine defeat by the Iapygians (p. 180 above), or those which followed the decisive defeat of the Argives by Cleomenes I (Aristotle, *Politics*, v, 2, 8, 1303). It is not incredible that the loss of eight thousand men might temporarily disturb the balance of the sexes, but the story of how, owing to a disastrous defeat or to the prolonged absence of the men upon military service, the women were forced to mate with slaves and freedmen, recurs with suspicious frequency. Usually the story is bound up with a sequel concerning the defeat of the offspring of the slave fathers by members of the true-born stock. It is not uninteresting that this type of legend appears to have passed, perhaps via Byzantium, into Russian historiography (Halliday, *B. S. A.*, xvi, pp. 212 f., and for the Russian story, *History*, vii, p. 35).

The veil was a normal part of a Greek woman's dress and hung from the head to the shoulder (for καλύπτρα, κρήδεμνον see Blümner, *Gr. Privatalterthümer*, 1882, pp. 194–5). When Ikarios

made his last appeal to Penelope to stay with him in Laconia, Odysseus told her she must make a definite choice between husband and father. Penelope said nothing but pulled down her veil, presumably thereby making a stranger of her father, and upon that spot the Spartans erected the Statue of Modesty (Pausanias, iii, 20, 10–11). The fashion of how the veil was worn evidently differed in different parts of Greece, for it is noted as a peculiarity of Theban women that they veiled the whole face, only the eyes being visible (Dicaearchus, 59, 18; *F. H. G.*, Müller, ii, p. 259). Apparently at Chalkedon women covered one cheek only in the presence of strange men. The question describes the procedure as a veiling of the far side of the face, the answer as an unveiling of the near side.

Question 50

Q. *Why is it that the Argives drive their ewes to the sacred precinct of Agenor to put them to the ram?*
A. *Is it because Agenor was an exceedingly good sheep master and obtained more flocks than any other king?*

There is no indication of the source of this question. It is not impossible that it is Socrates of Argos, and that Questions 23, 24, 50, and 51 are all derived from him (see above, p. 116).

Agenor is a colourless name like Kreon. I know of no other allusion to a cult of Agenor or to any tomb or *temenos* which bears his name. He is in the main a genealogical figure. As such he figures primarily in the Argive saga, from whence perhaps the name passed into the genealogies of Arcadia, Achaea and Aetolia. From Argos too it seems to have passed eastwards with Argive colonization to return with the oriental associations of Europa, Kadmos, and Io (Dümmler in *P. W.*, i, pp. 773 f. with the references there given).

In the Argive genealogies Agenor appears in varying relationships with Phoroneus, Pelasgos, Triopas (a Rhodian connexion), and Argos. To attempt to disentangle the various arrangements of these names in the different versions and their respective priority would not be relevant here.

Agenor is not a great sheep master in the mythologists, though the explanations of the commentators on the Homeric epithet ἱππόβοτος as applied to Argos, attributed to Agenor the development of horse-breeding and the creation of Argive cavalry. The earliest authority cited is the account by Hellanikos (*F. H. G.*, Jacoby, 4, *Frag.* 36) of the division between the three sons of Phoroneus. Ἀγήνωρ δὲ ἀναλωθείσης τῆς γῆς τὴν πατρικὴν εἴληφεν ἵππον . . . τινὲς δὲ μετὰ θάνατον τῶν δύο ἀδελφῶν ἐπιστρατεῦσαί φασι τὸν Ἀγήνορα πολλὴν ἐπαγόμενον ἵππον, ἀφ' ἧς κληθῆναι τὸ Ἄργος ἱππόβοτον.

The connexion of Agenor with flocks may simply be a deduction of Plutarch's from the practice observed at Argos. The bloodless character of Agenor as a mere genealogical figure lends some force to Professor Rose's suggestion that his so-called precinct may have been some old site of fertility magic, which came to be regarded as a herôon (for some examples of this not uncommon process see Halliday, "Cenotaphs and Sacred Localities", *B. S. A.*, xvii, pp. 182 f.). To this the specific name Agenor then came to be attached.

Question 51

Q. *Why do the Argive children, when playing at a certain festival, call themselves Ballachradai (Pear-throwers or Pelters of pear-trees)?*

A. *Is it because they say that the first men, who were brought by Inachos from the hills into the plains, lived upon wild pears? Now wild pears were first seen by the Greeks in the Peloponnese, while that country was still called Apia, and hence wild pears were named apioi.*

For the possibility, it is no more, that this is derived from Socrates of Argos, see p. 116 above. The derivation of Apia from *apioi* was mentioned in the *Argolica* of Istros (Athenaeus, xiv, 63, 650), whose ὑπομνήματα was quoted in Question 43.

For *Ballachradai* see Kern in *P. W.*, ii, p. 2829, and Nilsson, *G. F.*, p. 465. Nilsson points out that the interpretation of the compound is uncertain. Did the *Ballachradai* pelt one another with pears (ἀχράσι) or did they pelt the pear-trees (ἀχράδας)?

If the first meaning is correct the ceremony will probably have been a mock fight of a kind which is common in seasonal festivals (Mannhardt, *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte*, i, pp. 548 f.; Frazer, *G. B.*, iii, *The Dying God*, pp. 234 f., vi, *The Scapegoat*, pp. 173–84). Greek examples are *Lithobolia* at Troizen (Pausanias, ii, 32, 2), *Balletus* at Eleusis (Hesychius, s.v.; Athenaeus, ix, 406 D; *Hom. Hymn Dem.*, 265 f.), *Daulis* at Argos (Hesychius, s.v.), *Katagogia* at Ephesus (*Acta S. Timothei* quoted by Nilsson, *G. F.*, p. 416, n. 5), and a feast of an oriental Artemis at Antioch (Libanius, v, 43, I, p. 317, Förster). Probably also the Sicilian ἀγὼν ἐν σκίλλαις. τῶν ἐφήβων ἐν Σικελίᾳ γίνεται ἀγὼν ἐν σκίλλαις καὶ οἱ νικήσαντες ταῦρον τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν γυμνασιάρχων τιθεμένον λαμβάνουσιν ἔπαθλον (Schol. Theocr., vii, 106). For all these see Nillson, *G. F.*, pp. 413 f. Other but less relevant examples of Greek sham fights are discussed *ibidem*, pp. 402–8. See also Eitrem, *Opferritus*, p. 290, and Usener in *A. R. W.*, vii, pp. 297 f. = *Kleine Schriften*, iv, pp. 435 f.

The purpose underlying ritual sham fights has been variously interpreted. The difficulty has been to find a single idea which

would seem equally applicable to all the occasions upon which they take place. Professor Rose (*Folk-Lore*, xxxvi, pp. 322–31) has pointed out that neither the conflict of Summer and Winter, nor the idea of purification, which Eitrem, for example, favours, will adequately explain all the various examples. He suggests that the ultimate psychological origin of the ritual combat may lie in the instinctive feeling that the raising and expression of excitement creates magical energy or power. In examples such as our present festival, where the ritual is connected with crops, such energy will be made active for the promotion of their fertility.

If, on the other hand, the ritual consisted in pelting the pear-trees, we may compare the examples of threatening fruit-trees with an axe (*uel sim.*), which are collected in Frazer, *G. B.*, i, *Magic Art*, ii, pp. 21 f., or the pelting of fruit-trees with stones at harvest or spring (*ibidem*, i, p. 140, n. 6). Eitrem, who takes *Ballachradas* in this sense, refers to the mysterious scene on a relief now in Copenhagen, which depicts a snake on a tree approached by a sick man and two youths, the latter with stones in their hands (*Opferritus*, p. 291, n. 2). The interpretation of this scene is extremely doubtful: I should agree with Eitrem that that of Küster, *Die Schlange in der gr. Kunst und Religion*, p. 134, n. 3, is very improbable.

Inachos, son of Ocean and Tethys, appears at the head of the Argive genealogies, a fact to which he really owes his importance, for there is little evidence of his prominence in cult. As the oldest king of Argos his name acquired a proverbial use: e.g. 'diuesne prisco natus ab Inacho' (Horace, *Odes*, ii, 3, 21). The story to which Plutarch here refers, is given more fully in the Scholia to Euripides, *Orestes*, 932. After the flood of Deukalion Inachos collected the men who had taken refuge in the mountains, and led them down to the plain of Argos, which he drained and cleared. That his followers may rightly be supposed to have benefited by the change of diet would be approved by Theophrastus, according to whom (*Hist. Plant.*, iii, 3) the wild pear, the pear, and the apple are exceptions to the rule that while lowland varieties of trees have a finer appearance, the wood and fruit of the mountain varieties are superior. *αὗται δ' ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις κρείττους οὐ μόνον τοῖς καρποῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ξύλοις· ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ὄρεσι μικραὶ καὶ ὀζώδεις καὶ ἀκανθώδεις γίγνονται.* For this traditional diet of the early Argives compare Aelian, *V. H.*, iii, 29 *ὅτι βαλάνους Ἀρκάδες, Ἀργεῖοι δ' ἀπίους, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ σῦκα, Τιρύνθιοι δὲ ἀχράδας δεῖπνον εἶχον.*

For the name Apia, which was applied to the whole of the Peloponnese, but in the usage of the Attic tragedians more especially to Argolis, see the references collected in Frazer, *ad* Pausanias, ii, 5, 7; Robert, *Held.*, p. 260, n. 3. It was said to derive from an eponym Apis, who was alternatively given as the son of Io or of Phoroneus. The relation of this name to *ἄπιος* =

'far away' (Homer, *Iliad*, ii, 270, κτλ.) or ἄπιος = 'pear' remains obscure. In the Homeric epithet the first syllable is short, though later usage was not consistent. In ἄπιος, 'pear', it is also short. In the name Apia, on the other hand, the *a* is long (see Liddell and Scott, new edition, s. v.).

The importance of the pear-tree in Argolis may also be attested by the most ancient image of Hera, which was still preserved at the Heraeum in Pausanias's day. It had been carved of pear-wood by Peiren, the father of Io, who had set it up in Tiryns, whence it had been subsequently transferred (Pausanias, ii, 17, 5). For the terra-cottas which may reproduce this ancient *xoanon* see Frazer's notes *ad loc.* Doubts have been thrown upon the existence of the Tirynthian *xoanon* and temple but without justification, see Nilsson, *M. M. R.*, p. 409.

Question 52

Q. *Why is it that the Eleans take their brood mares beyond the borders of the country to have them served?*

A. *Is it because they fear the curse of Oinomaos that they observe this taboo? For Oinomaos, who was of all the kings the greatest horse lover and was especially devoted to the animal, laid a great and terrible curse upon the coupling of horses in Elis.*

The word ἐνόδας presents difficulties. Wyttenbach has suggested ὀνώδεις. But desirable as it may be to bring Plutarch into line with Herodotus (see below), a mare which is used for breeding mules cannot be called ὀνώδης, which can only mean 'like a donkey', e. g. ὀνώδη τὴν χρόαν, Plutarch, *Is. et Os.*, 30, 362 F. Wesseling suggested ἐνθόρους. An objection to this is the proleptic sense, for what the word means is 'impregnated'. "Sententia haud dubie notionem pruriendi requirit, nihil aliud. Prurire, autem, pruritus Graece dicitur ὀδάξειν, ἀδαξῆσαι, ὀδαγμός uel ἀδαγμός, ὀδαξησμός, δαξασμός . . . optimum mihi uidetur lectionem traditam in qua ueri quid latet, non sollicitare" (Bernardakis, *Symbolae criticae*, pp. 65–6). In this counsel of despair I concur.

As regards the possible source of this question see Question 47, p. 191 above. Internal evidence suggests that Plutarch, unlike the other writers who allude to this taboo, is drawing upon some source other than Herodotus, for Plutarch seems to include all horse-breeding in the prohibition, and he alone mentions Oinomaos as the author of the curse.

The earliest mention of this Elean peculiarity is that of Herodotus (iv, 30). The absence of mules in Scythia he supposes to be due to the coldness of the climate and, in spite of the alleged

Hyperborean sacrifices of asses to Apollo, it was the general view in classical antiquity that neither asses nor mules could be bred in northern Europe on account of the sensitiveness of these animals to cold (e. g., Aristotle, *Hist. An.*, viii, 25, 605 a; Pliny, *N. H.*, viii, 43 (68), 167; Strabo, vii, 18, 307). In Elis, Herodotus continues, there are no climatic or other obvious natural reasons but mules cannot be bred there on account of a curse. The mares are sent into neighbouring territory to be served and are brought home when they are in foal. In two passages (v, 5, 2, v, 9, 2) Pausanias refers to the same phenomenon;[1] both he and Eustathius (*ad Dionys. Perieg.*, 413), and probably also Antigonus Carystius, 13 (Beckmann), are drawing upon Herodotus.

The analogies which have been cited for this Elean practice appear to me to be irrelevant. Clermont-Ganneau (*Journal Asiatique, 7me Série*, 10, 1877, p. 209; *ap.* Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. iii, p. 472)[2] thinks that the taboo upon mule-breeding was analogous to the injunction of *Leviticus*, xix, 19, "thou shalt not let thy cattle gender with a diverse kind". But there is no evidence whatever that any Elean or any Greek shared this sentiment against mule-breeding on the ground of its involving 'unnatural' coupling.

Equally irrelevant are the difficulties of successful horse-breeding on the Coromandel Coast of Malabar, which Frazer quotes from Marco Polo. These were and apparently are due to climate and to ignorant mismanagement as regards the care and diet of horses, see Cordier-Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, third edition, ii, pp. 342, 350, 351.

Eitrem's *obiter dictum* (*Opferritus*, p. 464) is perhaps due to a mistaken memory of what the text says. "Dass ein als echt anerkanntes Kind zum ersten Mal das Licht auf heimatlichem Boden erblicken musste, hat man nirgends (so viel ich weiss) gefordert, aber für das Bespringen der Stuten wenigstens hat griechischer Aberglaube doch etwas ähnliche Vorschriften gekannt." So Eitrem, but Plutarch surely says the exact opposite.

However, Eitrem is probably so far right that we have here to do with the magic of boundaries upon which in general see the interesting paper of S. Czarnowski, "Le morcellement de l'étendue et sa limitation dans la religion et la magie," *Actes du Congrès Internat. d'Hist. des Religions*, Paris, 1923, i, pp. 339–59. Thus according to a Polish belief, an egg which is carried beyond

[1] In his rendering of v, 9, 2 Frazer may mislead the reader. The curse was not in fact operative 'if ever the animal was born in their land'. When writing *γενέσθαι σφίσιν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τὸ ζῷον* Pausanias had before him the Herodotean phrases *οὐ δυνέαται γίνεσθαι ἡμίονοι . . . οὐ γίνεσθαι σφίσι ἡμιόνους*, but Herodotus explicitly intends the curse to apply only to the siring not to the dropping of the foals: *ἐς οὗ ἂν σχῶσι αἱ ἵπποι ἐν γαστρί· ἔπειτα δὲ ὀπίσω ἀπελαύνουσι.*

[2] This view is shared by Hehn-Schrader, *Kulturpflanzen und Hausthiere* 1902, p. 133.

the boundary of the commune becomes sterile (Czarnowski, *op. cit.*, p. 341). On the other hand, in the village of Ammersweiler all children who are born in the village will be hunchbacked owing to a curse put upon the place by St. Deodatus in A.D. 680. Expectant mothers are therefore taken across the stream which bounds the village, in order to bear their children outside the area of the curse (*Zeitschrift f. deutsche Philologie*, iii, p. 337, quoted by Stein *ad* Herodotus, iv, 30). These indeed are not exact analogues to the Elean superstition, but they belong to the same order of ideas about boundaries.

Since this obstacle to mule-breeding existed, the Eleans were at least fortunate in having good sires to hand, for the horses and asses of Arcadia were famous. Of the ass Pliny (*N. H.*, viii, 43 (68), 167) remarks "opera sine dubio generi munifica, arando quoque, sed mularum maxume pro generatione. Patria etiam spectatur in his, Arcadicis in Achaia, in Italia Reatinis".

The connexion of the name of Oinomaos with the curse is intelligible enough upon the grounds alleged by Plutarch. In the earlier version of the Hippodameia story, the horses given him by his father Ares were only outmatched by the winged horses given by Poseidon to Pelops. Not only his grave but his stables (Pausanias, vi, 21, 3) were shown at Olympia, and some identified him with the Olympic Taraxippos (Pausanias, vi, 20, 17).

Question 53

Q. *Why was it the custom among the Cnossians for those who borrowed money to snatch the cash?*

A. *Was it in order that if they defaulted they might be liable to the charge of violence and so be punished more severely?*

The source may be the same as that of Question 21, see p. 109 above.

Upon this curious custom I can throw no light. "Einer sehr alten Zeit war gewiss auch die kretische Sitte entsprungen die den Darleihen den Charakter eines Raubes aufprägte", Thalheim, *Rechtsaltertümer*, p. 93.

Question 54

Q. *What is the reason that in Samos they invoke 'the Aphrodite of Dexikreon'?*

A. *Is it because when the behaviour of their women, who were flown with luxury and insolence, lacked all restraint, a wandering magician named Dexikreon employed a purification and cured them?*

Or is it because a ship-master named Dexikreon voyaged

to Cyprus for trade? When he was about to lade his ship, Aphrodite bade him load with water and with nothing else and to sail as swiftly as possible. Now he obeyed, and put much water in his ship and set sail, whereupon, when windless weather held them at sea becalmed, he sold his water to the other merchants and sailors, who were thirsty, and so amassed a large fortune. On this account he made the goddess and called her after himself.

But indeed if this is true, it would appear that the goddess desired not so much to enrich an individual as to save the lives of many by the means of one.

The concluding reflection is characteristic of the piety of his age and must surely be Plutarch's own. For the rest the source is not indicated. Questions 20, 54, 55, 56, and 57 are concerned with Samos. Question 20 is certainly from Aristotle, *Constitution of the Samians*. Wyttenbach is inclined to derive our whole series from Aristotle or Heracleides, which is much the same thing. There is no reason why the matter of Questions 54 and 57 should not have occurred in Aristotle, though this attribution may be thought less probable for 54 than for 57. On the other hand, 56 is certainly not from Aristotle. In the first place if Heracleides, x, 1, is drawn from the *Constitution of the Samians*, the latter will have contained the received account of the Neïdes, which is inconsistent with Question 56. But conclusive is the fact that the return of Dionysos from India is a post-Aristotelian story. Further, if I am right in suspecting that Pausanias, vii, 2, draws in part from a source common to Questions 55 and 56, 55 will not be from Aristotle, since 56 is not. Upon the whole I am inclined to think that 54, 55, 56, 57, are all from the same source. If so, which of the local histories of Samos is that likely to be? Euagon and Euphorion are ruled out, since both contain the Neïdes. Aethlius, Alexis, Menodotus, Olympichos, and Theodoros are nowhere else quoted by Plutarch. One citation (*Alex.* 61) from Polemon of Mytilene occurs, but Duris is quoted not less than twelve times, and *Pericles*, 28, shows that Plutarch had read his treatise on Samos. Duris is then the most likely.

For the alleged identification of the site of the temple of this goddess see Bürchner in *P. W.*, second series, i, p. 2200. The evidence is not conclusive.

Of the two *aitia* the first is a desperate invention modelled upon Dionysiac stories, like that of Melampus and the Proitids, which perhaps reflect the hellenization of the wild Thracian cult to conform with Greek ideas of order and seemliness. It is not impossible that the cult of Aphrodite may also have led to orgiastic extravagance, which Hellenism needed to modify. But I know of no other reference to a Dexikreon who plied the profession of

a Melampus or an Epimenides, and the only example of Aphrodite's wrath affecting the women of a community, of which I can think, viz. the unpleasant smell which afflicted the women of Lemnos, does not provide a true analogy.

The second *aition* may so far be founded on fact that Dexikreon may well be the name of an individual who founded the particular cult, and it would be quite appropriate that a sailor should found a cult of Aphrodite. For the first point Farnell (*Greece and Babylon*, pp. 195–6) seems inclined to regard the attachment of an individual's name in the genitive as a cult-title as characteristically Semitic and un-Greek. Our Aphrodite was specifically introduced from Cyprus and so far fits in comfortably with this theory. But it may be doubted whether Farnell's view is correct. It is true that the Old Testament idea which finds expression in "the god of Abraham, the god of Isaac, and the god of Jacob" is characteristically Semitic and un-Greek, and the late inscriptions from Palmyra, which Farnell discusses, may belong to this category. But it is not true that the only Greek parallel to a cult-title which joins a possessive individual name to that of the deity is Athena Aiantis at Megara (Farnell, *op. cit.*, p. 196).

Actually it is not unusual to find cult-titles which associate the deity concerned with the hypothetical founder of the cult. Examples are Apollo Iasonios at Cyzicus, which was founded by Jason (*P. W.*, ix, p. 782; Robert, *Held.*, p. 836), Aphrodite Argynnis or ἐπ' Ἀργύννῳ, which was said to have been founded by the eponym of the small Boeotian town Argynnis or Argynnion, who was the love of Agamemnon (*P. W.*, ii, p. 799; Robert, *Held.*, p. 1104), or the Athenian Aphrodite ἐφ' Ἱπολύτῳ (Robert, *Held.*, p. 741; Farnell, *C. G. S.*, ii, pp. 658–9). The cult of Herakles Mantiklos both at Sicilian and Peloponnesian Messene was said to have been founded in the seventh century B.C. by an individual Mantiklos (Pausanias, iv, 23, 10; 26, 3). Historical persons who founded a religious society (e.g. *I. G.*, xii, 1, 161, 937) or a cult might attach their names to their foundations. Thus the will of Diomedon (*circa* 300 B.C., Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 1106) details a bequest for the purpose of establishing a *temenos* and a cult of Herakles Diomedonteios. In Lycia we find the cult-title Ζεὺς Πανάμαρος Ἀργύρου (Roscher, *Lex.*, iii, p. 1496), more definitely Asiatic is Μὴν Φαρνάκου (Roscher, *Lex.*, ii, p. 2752).

I am not therefore convinced that the type of cult-title represented by Aphrodite Dexikreontos is necessarily Semitic, though I do not think that it can be very early. Just as the worship of heroes developed gradually into the cult of historical persons, by a similar process the increasing individualism of Greek religion made it possible for the analogy of the type of title derived from a legendary heroic founder of a specific cult to be extended to titles commemorating individual founders of societies or cults.

Herakles Mantiklos is remarkable because of its very early date (for though Pausanias has got into a muddle about Anaxilos of Rhegium I see no reason to question the tradition that Mantiklos lived in the seventh century). I should doubt the general prevalence of giving an historical individual's name to a cult or order before the fourth century B. C.

That a sailor should dedicate a cult statue to Aphrodite is appropriate. Besides her intelligible patronage of the sailor's orgies ashore (Plutarch, *an seni sit ger. resp.*, 4, 785 D; *non poss. suau. uiu. sec. Epicur.*, 16, 1097 E), the goddess had a more reputable and well-established connexion with sea-faring. Her images were frequently carried in ships (cf. the miracle in Athenaeus, xv, 18, 675 F), and she was worshipped under such titles as Euploia, which is attested for Cilicia, Knidos, Mylasa, Naukratis, and Piraeus. Upon Aphrodite as the goddess of sea-faring see further Farnell, *C. G. S.*, ii, pp. 636–7, and reference No. 106; also the references in Roscher, *Lex.*, i, p. 402, though these latter need not induce us to agree that the reason of this aspect of Aphrodite "sich leicht aus ihrer ursprünglichen Mondbedeutung erklären lässt".

If Paphos was the port in Cyprus to which Dexikreon sailed, he may have offered a kid at the temple there, which was famous for its diviners (Tacitus, *Histories*, ii, 3).

The story of the cargo of water bears a generic resemblance to the folk-tale of the acquisition of wealth by the introduction of some cheap object or animal into a country where it had previously been unknown, of which the most familiar example is Dick Whittington and his Cat. On this see Bolte and Polẃka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm*, ii, pp. 69–76; Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, ii, pp. 65–78; Burton-Smithers, *Arabian Nights*, iii, pp. 282 f. The similarity, however, does not extend further than that of a general similarity in idea. The story of Dexikreon cannot legitimately be regarded as a definite variant of any of these folk-tales.

Mr. Nock has drawn my attention to *Oxyrhynchus Papyrus*, 1382, which contains the conclusion of a tale very similar to ours and clearly drawn from an aretalogy. Serapis had in some way provided a sailor, Syrion, with water which he sold to the inhabitants of Pharos for 100 drachmae. I suspect that the water here is fresh water, not as Grenfell and Hunt suggest, water possessing magical properties. For Egyptians as connoisseurs of drinking water see Aristides, xlviii, 360, Dindorf.

Question 55

Q. *Why is it that when they are sacrificing to Hermes Charidotes, the Samians allow any one who likes to steal or pick pockets?*

A. *Is it because in accordance with an oracle they transferred from the island to Mykale and lived there ten years by piracy? And after this sailing again to the island, the Samians mastered their enemies.*

The circumstances of this oracle are quite unknown. It was, of course, the regular practice of an exiled opposition at Samos to flee to the mainland and there collect forces for an armed return (e.g. Thucydides, i, 115). But our particular incident must, I think, be connected with the story in Pausanias, vii, 2, 8. "Androklos further wrested Samos from the Samians, and for a while the Ephesians held Samos and the neighbouring islands. After the Samians had returned to their own land, Androklos helped the people of Priene against the Carians." Now the context in Pausanias, vii, 2 and the juxtaposition of Questions 55 and 56 suggest that Pausanias and Plutarch in both Questions are drawing from the same source. If so, since 56 cannot be from Aristotle, neither will this be derived from him. A possible source for all three passages is Duris, see above, p. 203. The strait between Samos and Mykale has been notorious for piracy both in ancient and in medieval times (see the references in Ormerod, *Piracy in the Ancient World*, pp. 100 f.).

The epithet Charidotes is applied to Hermes in *Hom. Hymn*, xviii, 12.

χαῖρ' Ἑρμῆ χαριδῶτα, διάκτορε, δῶτορ ἐάων.

Meilichios and Charidotes appear to have been associated epithets of Dionysos (Plutarch, *Antony*, 24; *Quaest Conuiu.*, i, 1, 3, 613 D; Χαριτοδότης ὁ Διόννσος, *Sept. Sap. Conuiu.*, 15, 158 E). As a cult title of Zeus it appears in conjunction with Ktesios and Epikarpios (Plutarch, *de Stoic. repug.*, 30, 1048). Hermes Charidotes then signifies the god in his aspect of a deity of fruitfulness and good cheer (compare the title Auxidemos and see the references in Farnell, *C. G. S.*, v, Reference No. for Hermes, 18). The site of his Samian temple has not been identified.

The ritual custom mentioned by Plutarch has been discussed by Farnell, *C. G. S.*, v, p. 23, and Nilsson, *G. F.*, p. 393. It belongs quite evidently to one of those popular festivals, like the *Saturnalia*, the Feast of Fools, &c., the merry-making of which is characterized by a reversal of the ordinary rules of society—e. g. the sexes change clothes (see p. 216 below), the masters wait upon the slaves, there is a general licence, the civil authorities are temporarily replaced by a Lord of Misrule, and so on. A number of festivals which fall under this category are known to have existed in the ancient world, though little is known about most of them in detail. Such were the *Hermaia* in Crete, a festival in the month *Geraistios* in Troizen, the Thessalian *Peloria*, *Eleutheria* at Smyrna, *Saturnalia* (the Greek name is unknown) at Cyrene, *Kronia* at Athens, *Kissotomoi* in honour of Ganymede or

Hebe at Phlius, and perhaps *Hybristika* at Argos. To these may be added the Roman *Saturnalia*, the *Sakaia* at Babylon, and perhaps the summer slave-girls' festival at Rome (Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.*, 100, and [Plutarch], *Parallela*, 313 B). For all these see further Nilsson, pp. 35 f. Similar festivals of license occur in all parts of the world; for some examples see Frazer, *G. B.*, vi, *The Scapegoat*, pp. 306 f.; and for a criticism of Frazer's reduction of them all to his formula of the divine king, Lang, *Magic and Religion*, pp. 108 f. I have myself (*B. S. A.*, xvi, pp. 212 f.) emphasized their aspect as *rites de passage*, i. e. ceremonies which mark the conclusion of an old period and the happy beginning of a new. A complete topsyturvydom breaks with the old order of society, and the merry-making and the exchange of presents, which is usually a feature of such festivals, starts society, conscious of its happy unity, upon the fortunate beginning of a new epoch. I still consider this to be a most important psychological element in the genesis of customs like that associated with Hermes Charidotes.

That Hermes should be the patron of such a festival is intelligible enough. The god of slaves gave his name to the *Hermaia* in Crete, in which masters waited upon slaves, and his patronage of thievery seems to be as old as Homer, where it is Hermes who bestows his craft upon Autolycus (*Odyssey* xix, 395). Hermes Dolios was worshipped at Pellene (Pausanias, vii. 27, 1). Whether Hermes derived this aspect as the pre-Hellenic god of a subject population, which, like Finns, Lapps, or Welsh, developed qualities of servile cunning (so Farnell, *C. G. S.*, v, p. 24), is perhaps doubtful. I should myself prefer the view that the god of wayfarers became the patron of 'gentlemen of the road' (*C. A. H.*, ii, p. 637).

Question 56

Q. *From what is the place Panaima in Samos so called?*

A. *Is it because the Amazons in flight from Dionysos crossed from the land of the Ephesians to Samos. But he made boats and crossed and joined battle with them and slew many of them about that place which, owing to the amount of blood that flowed, those that saw it, marvelling, called Panaima? Now some of the elephants are said to have died near Phloion and their bones are shown. And some say also that Phloion was rent above them*[1] *as they uttered a great and piercing cry.*

[1] It would be attractive to emend to *ὑπ' ἐκείνων*, "by them". If the MS. reading is retained, the natural rendering "in their time" is nonsense. I think we must translate "on top of them", which agrees with the native view of the Neïdes which is discussed below.

The place Panaima, doubtless, took its name from the red colour of the earth. "Les mines de fer ne manquent pas dans Samos: la plupart des terres sont de couleur de rouille. Tous les environs de Bavonda sont pleins de bol rouge-foncé, fort fin, fort sec et qui s'attache à la langue" (Tournefort, *Voyage du Levant*, Paris, 1717, i, p. 413; see also Bürchner in *P. W.*, second series, i, p. 2171). Such natural phenomena frequently give rise to local legends of bloodshed as their cause. A number of examples from all parts of the world will be found in Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, second edition, i, p. 406. Similarly, the Syrians in antiquity explained that the red waters of their river were annually stained with the blood of Adonis, and the pool at Joppa was thought to have obtained its red hue from the blood of the sea-monster slain by Perseus (references in Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. iii, p. 454). To these we may add the red streak in the sea between Kythnos and Zia, which still commemorates a great slaughter of the Franks by the Turks (Politis, *Paradoseis*, p. 17), and the blood-red patch between the Gate of Iyyub Ensar and the Martyr's Gate at Constantinople, which each July was thought to reproduce the dyeing of the sea with blood when the city was captured by the Turks (von Hammer, *Travels of Evliya Efendi*, I, i, p. 49).

The other natural phenomenon, which inspires our story, is the presence in Samos of a large number of Pleiocene fossils (*P. W.*, second series, i, p. 2168). In antiquity such fossil bones were usually explained as the bones of giants (see Philostratos, *Apollonius*, v, 16, 1; a list is given in Philostratos, *Heroic*, ii, 4–8; references to further examples are collected in Pfister, *Reliquienkult*, ii, pp. 435–8). This notion naturally survived antiquity in the Levant, e. g. "la grosse dent de géant pétrifiée, trouvée dans un tombeau auprès d'Alep" which Paul Lucas (*Voyage 1714*, Rouen, 1719, iii, p. 338) brought home among his rarities. In Samos, however, a different explanation prevailed. Such fossils were thought to be the bones of fabulous monsters, called Neïdes, whose growling was the rumbling which accompanied, and was thought to cause, earthquakes (Euagon, *Frag.* 1, *F. H. G.*, Müller, ii, p. 16; Euphorion, *Frag.* 6, *F. H. G.*, Müller, iii, p. 72; Heracleides Ponticus, x, *F. H. G.*, Müller, ii, p. 215).

In the story given by Plutarch this local belief has been worked into the Hellenistic story of Dionysos's triumphant return from India. Tumuli were frequently identified by Greeks with Amazons' graves, but I do not know of any supposed Amazons' bones, nor were Amazons, like giants, supposed to exceed human stature. *Pace* Pfister (*op. cit.*, ii, p. 428) and van Buren (*Folk-Lore*, xxxiii, p. 352) it was not Amazons' but animals' bones, which were shown at Phloion, We need something to take the place of the Neïdes of the alternative story. The answer must surely be some of Dionysos's elephants, which were killed in the

battle. The correction of the lacuna in the text to ἐλεφάντων (*C. R.*, xli, p. 59) seems therefore to be certain, and it is confirmed by the account in Nonnus, xxvi, 329 f., of Dionysos terrifying the Amazons with his elephants.

Phloion appears not to have been identified. No doubt it possessed natural features, probably the product of earthquake, which suggested that it had been magically rent. With the cry of the Neïdes or the dying elephants we might compare the "words that cleft Eildon Hills in three". It is just possible that the name Phloion may have something to do with the invention of a Dionysiac *aition*, for Phloios is a cult epithet of Dionysos (Plutarch, *Quaest. conuiu.*, v, 8, 3, 683 F; cf. Dionysos Phleon, Aelian, *V. H.*, iii, 41; and Phleus at Chios, P. R., i, p. 708, n. 3).

The tradition of the Amazons is established before Homer, for whom they inhabit the Sangarios area (*Iliad*, iii, 184) and Lycia (*Iliad*, vi, 181), but already there is a trace of the Amazon foundation legends of Aeolis in the mention of the tomb of Myrine in the Troad (*Iliad*, ii, 811). These warrior women, in my opinion, belong to the stories of the strange folk who dwell at the edge of the known world, and though perhaps misunderstandings of native customs may have shaped parts of the story, no attempt to identify them with any particular people, Cimmerians, hairless Mongols, *uel. sim.* (e. g. Klügmann, *Philologus*, xxx, 1870, pp. 524–50 or Myres, *Anthropology and the Classics*, pp. 138 f.) seems to me to have succeeded. The explanation of them in terms of a cult of an Asiatic Mother Goddess (Bennet, *Religious Cults associated with the Amazons*) lacks any solid foundation at all. The Amazons belong, like the Skiapodes, to the region of travellers' tales, and that is why they similarly recur at the limits of Arab exploration in the East Indies (Burton-Smithers, *Arabian Nights*, vi, p. 197).

The original habitat of the Amazons was pushed further east with the advance of Greek geographical knowledge. It became established doctrine that their home was at Themiskyra on the Thermodon. Then the eastern end of Pontus became familiar ground to the Greeks, and it became necessary to explain why Amazons were no longer to be found there. This gave rise to the second great Amazon cycle, the Amazon expedition of Herakles.

Before Alexander there are three great cycles of Amazon legends, which we may take in order:

(1) Post-Homeric epic, particularly Arctinus, developed the Homeric mention of Amazons into the story of the participation of Penthesilea and her Amazons as allies of Priam in the Trojan War. With this were originally associated the Amazon foundation legends of Aeolis and Ionia. Myrine, Kyme, Gryneia, Pitane, Mytilene, Smyrna, Anaia, Pygela, Latoreia, and in one version Ephesus, the centre of the Amazon stories in Ionia, were all Amazon foundations.

(2) Somewhere about the time of the colonization of the Black Sea coast arose the second great cycle, the Amazon expedition of Herakles. This was sometimes brought into relation with the foundation legends by supposing that after their defeat Herakles granted them the coast between Pitane and Mykale, as an act of grace (Heracleides, 34, *F. H. G.*, Müller, ii, p. 222).

(3) The story of Theseus and the Amazons, which was modelled on (2), on the principle of ἄλλος οὗτος Ἡρακλῆς. It is purely artificial and not very old, but it gained in popularity and embellishment from the sentiment which regarded the invasion of Attica by the Amazons as a kind of prototype of the Persian War (see *Annals*, xi, pp. 18–20). With this cycle were connected a number of treasures preserved in temples, which in some cases were perhaps objects belonging to the Bronze Age. These were explained as dedications of booty won from the Amazons (see Pfister, *Reliquienkult*, i, p. 335; Robert, *Held.*, p. 464), and tumuli were often regarded as graves of Amazons. Such are recorded in Thessaly, Boeotia, Megara, Troizen, Laconia, and Euboea (references in Pfister, *op. cit.*, pp. 127, 409; Robert, *Held.*, p. 733). For Amazons see further Toepffer in *P. W.*, i, pp. 1754–71, and Roscher in *Lex.*, i, pp. 267 f.

Now in Hellenistic times the story of the triumphant conquest of the East by Dionysos, a very popular god with Hellenistic kings (on Alexander-Dionysos see Nock in *J. H. S.*, xlviii; on Antony-Dionysos-Osiris, Rose in *Annals*, xi, pp. 25 f.), was modelled upon the exploits of Alexander (see Voigt in Roscher, *Lex.*, i, pp. 1087–8). Into this story the Amazons were introduced either as part of the god's host, on the analogy of the women votaries who successfully resisted the attempts at state repression by Pentheus and his congeners when Dionysos first invaded Greece, or, as representative of Oriental foreigners in the role of enemies of the god who, like Herakles, defeated them upon his return from the conquest of India. The first alternative appears in the rationalist Euhemerist account of how Dionysos I, in alliance with the Amazons under the command of Athena, fought against Kronos (Diodorus, iii, 71, 4, 74, 2). The second and more usual, which is represented in art by the reliefs upon a Cortona sarcophagus (*Arch. Ztg.*, June, 1845, Pl. 30), appears to have been linked up with the foundation legends of the site round Ephesus. Pausanias (vii, 2, 7) tells us that according to Pindar the temple of Artemis at Ephesus was founded by the Amazons who were concerned in the expedition against Attica, but in his own view the temple was much older, and its Amazon associations were derived from Amazons having taken sanctuary there, when defeated either by Herakles or by Dionysos.

The same version reappears in the speech of the Ephesian envoys to the Senate in Tacitus (*Annals*, iii, 61), where they claim that the victorious Dionysos had pardoned the suppliant

Amazons at their temple. Clearly it is to this line of tradition that Plutarch's story here belongs. The defeat and scattering of the Amazons by Dionysos, as before by Herakles, explained why there were Amazon sites all round Ephesus. In our *aition* some of the vanquished are pursued further to Samos and killed there, and the dying elephants of the victor, borrowing a trait of the local Neïdes, rend the rocks with their terrible death-cry.

Question 57

Q. *For what reason is the banqueting hall in Samos called 'Pedetes' ('Fettered')?*

A. *When the Geomoroi had the government in their hands after the slaughter of Demoteles and the dissolution of his monarchy, the Megarians sent an expedition against the Perinthians, who were colonists of the Samians, and it is said that they took with them fetters for the prisoners. But the Geomoroi learning of this sent help forthwith, appointing nine generals and manning thirty ships, of which two were struck by lightning and destroyed off the harbour, as they sailed out. But the generals sailed with the other ships, defeated the Megarians and took six hundred of them alive.*

But being elated by the victory they plotted to overthrow the oligarchy of the Geomoroi at home, and the officials at the head of the government provided the occasion by writing to them that they should bring the Megarian prisoners bound in their own fetters. When, therefore, they received these dispatches, they showed them secretly to some of the Megarians and persuaded them to stand in with them and to free the city. So they took counsel together about the deed, and they decided to knock off the rings of the fetters,[1] *and putting them thus about the legs of the Megarians, to catch them up to their girdles with thongs in order to prevent them from slipping or dropping off when they worked loose in walking.*[2] *Thus they equipped the men and gave a sword to each, and then sailed to Samos, disembarked and led them through the market to the Council hall, where all the Geomoroi were sitting together. Then when the signal was given, the Megarians fell on the men and killed them.*

[1] *κρίκος* is a ring. It is used for the eyelet hole for reefing a sail. Obviously it was the fastenings of the fetters which were knocked off.

[2] The sense admits of no doubt, though the Greek is not easy. It must be the fetters not the Megarians who became *χαλαροί*. It must be explained as a loose genitive absolute which sporadically replaces any and every case of the participle in Hellenistic Greek. Professor Rose, who has pointed this out to me, has given some egregious examples in *C. R.*, xxxix, p. 134.

But when the city had thus been freed, those of the Megarians who wished it, they made citizens, and they constructed a great building, in which they dedicated the fetters, and from this the building was called 'Pedetes'.

The source of this question may be either Aristotle's *Constitution of the Samians* or Duris. These seem to me the most probable, but they are not, of course, the only possibilities and there is no clue to guide speculation.

There is little comment to be made. Nothing further is known about Demoteles. The war of Megara with Perinthos, a Samian colony founded at the end of the seventh or beginning of the sixth century (Strabo, vii, *Frag.* 56), was no doubt the product of Megarian and Samian rivalry in the Pontic trade. Perinthos was menacingly near Megarian Selymbria (Cauer, *Parteien und Politiker in Megara und Athen*, p. 13). The war is dated by Meyer about 600 B.C., by Busolt about 620; either date is too late for Busolt's theory connecting it with the growth of democratic sentiment in Megara, which gave Theagenes his opportunity of making himself tyrant (Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, ii, pp. 449, 614; Busolt, *Die Lakedaimonier*, p. 241, and see Question 18, p. 101 above). Glotz and Cohen (*Histoire grecque*, i, p. 329) regard it as following the fall of Theagenes, whom they apparently consider to have been banished by a democratic movement. They develop further an elaborate theory connecting the event narrated in this question with the Lelantine War and a consequent shifting of the political relations of the commercial states of Greece, a new combination of Megara and Samos against Corinth and Miletus (pp. 279 f., 312 f., 329). This reconstruction of history rests upon imagination rather than evidence, and in detail involves acute chronological difficulties.

For the Geomoroi of Samos see Thucydides, viii, 21; compare the Gamoroi of Syracuse. The word indicates an aristocracy of first settlers who monopolized the landed property.

The story of binding the prisoners in their own fetters recalls the fate of the Spartans who, trusting in the deceitful oracle, set out with fetters to enslave the men of Tegea. ἐσσωθέντες δὲ τῇ συμβολῇ, ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἐζωγρήθησαν, πέδας τε ἔχοντες τὰς ἐφέροντο αὐτοὶ καὶ σχοίνῳ διαμετρησάμενοι τὸ πεδίον τὸ Τεγεητέων ἐργάζοντο (Herodotus, i, 66). Here, too, the fetters were preserved in the temple of Athena Alea and were there seen later by Pausanias (viii, 47, 2).

Question 58

Q. *Why is it that among the Koans the priest of Herakles at Antimachia begins the sacrifice wearing a woman's robe and with a snood bound round his head?*

A. *On putting to sea from Troy with the six ships, Herakles was caught in a storm, and the ships being destroyed he was driven by the wind in one alone to Kos and was cast upon the so-called Lakêtêr, saving nothing but the crew and their weapons. Now chancing upon some sheep, he asked for a ram from the man who was grazing them. But the man, who was called Antagoras and was in the prime of bodily strength, bade Herakles wrestle with him, and if he should throw him, he should carry off the ram. And Herakles falling to grips with him, the Meropes came up to the help of Antagoras and the Greeks to the help of Herakles, and they started a fierce battle. In this it is said that Herakles was worsted by the multitude and fled to a Thracian woman and lay hid, concealing himself in woman's clothes. But when, having got the better of the Meropes again and having been purified, he married Chalkiope, he donned flowered raiment. Hence on the one hand the priest makes sacrifice at the place where the battle happened to take place, and on the other hand bridegrooms are accustomed to welcome their brides wearing women's clothes.*

This is quite clearly a local story. It might well come at first or at second hand from the Κῳακά of Makareus, an author whose date is unknown. The only known citation from his work (Athenaeus, vi, 262 C and xiv, 639 D) deals with the taboo upon slaves at the festival of Hera.

There is no extant citation from an Aristotelian, *Constitution of the Koans*, but its existence may be inferred from Aristotle, *Politics*, v, 4, 2, see Müller, *F. H. G.*, ii, p. 161.

It may be convenient first to examine the *aition* and then to consider the ritual facts, which it seeks to explain by an alleged historical origin.

For the topography, Antimachia, which still bears the same name, is in the west of the island, about five hours mule ride from the town of Kos. The site is now occupied by a ruined castle of the Rhodian Knights adorned with the arms of the Grand Master d'Aubusson (1494 A. D.). Up to the Crimean War[1] the inhabitants sheltered within its walls, but since piracy has ceased to be a real danger, they have scattered to villages in less defensible but more convenient sites round it. The site is to-day uninhabited. Lakêtêr was the ancient name for the precipitous rocky mass which forms the south-west end of the island (Strabo, xiv, 2, 19, 657).

[1] So local tradition. The latest archaeological date is that of a restoration-inscription on the church, 1792.

The germ of our story is in the *Iliad* and the six ships are Homeric.

> ὅς ποτε δεῦρ' ἐλθὼν ἕνεχ' ἵππων Λαομέδοντος
> ἓξ οἵῃς σὺν νηυσὶ καὶ ἀνδράσι παυροτέροισι
> Ἰλίου ἐξαλάπαξε πόλιν. (*Iliad*, v, 640.)

After the sack of Troy Sleep beguiled Zeus at Hera's bidding and Hera raised a storm which drove Herakles to Kos, but Zeus rescued him, brought him safe home to Argos, and punished Hera and Hephaistos, who tried to take her part (*Iliad*, xiv, 250, xv, 18–30, i, 590). As is so often the case, an Homeric hint offered opportunities for elaboration and development. What may be called the current version of the adventures in Kos is given by Apollodorus (*Bib.*, ii, 7, 1), perhaps from Pherekydes (see Jacoby, *F. H. G.*, Pherekydes, *Frag.* 78). Eurypylos, son of Poseidon, king of the Meropes, resisted Herakles' landing, and tried to keep him off as a pirate with showers of stones (cf. the story of Kyknos and Achilles, p. 137 above). Herakles forced a landing, killed Eurypylos, was wounded by Chalkodon (? Chalkon), but was saved by Zeus. He then laid Kos waste, and upon Chalkiope, the daughter of Eurypylos he begat Thessalos (Apollodorus, ii, 7, 8), the father of the leaders of the Koan contingent at the siege of Troy (Apollodorus, *Epit.*, iii, 13) and eponymous ancestor of the Thessalians (*ibid.*, vi, 15).

If we turn to our version, the ship-wreck on Lakêtêr is an improvement, resolving, as it does, a serious difficulty, *viz.* why were the six ships' companies which had been ample to sack Troy, insufficient to deal immediately with the Meropes? The answer is that they had been wrecked and Herakles landed only with the survivors of one.

The next part of the story, the meeting with the shepherd, is constructed upon sound Heraklean models, e.g. the *aition* of the cursing festival of Herakles at Lindos (Apollodorus, ii, 5, 11), the similar tale of Theiodamas and his bullock (Apollodorus, ii, 7, 7), and the fight with Eryx for the missing Geryonian bull (Apollodorus, ii, 5, 10). Again, preliminary defeat with flight (Molionids, Robert, *Held.*, p. 540) or wounding (Hippokoontids, Robert, *Held.*, p. 547) of the hero, followed by subsequent victory, is not an unusual formula in the adventures of Herakles.

The name of the shepherd Antagoras from *ἀνταγορεύειν* is patently derived from the story (see Tümpel in *P. W.*, i, p. 2337), but it seems genuinely to have become established in local Koan tradition. Antagoras appears as a son of Eurypylos and Klytia and brother of Chalkon in Schol. Theokr., vii, 5 d (wrongly given as Aristagoras in cod. Schol. Theokr., vii, 5 e).

The flight of our version was supposed to account for the name Puxa of a Koan deme, where was a temple of Apollo Puxios or Phuxios (Schol. Theokr., vii, 130). A dedication from the spoils

of Herakles' final victory over the Meropes is catalogued in the Lindian 'Temple Chronicle'.

Eurypylos, the son of Poseidon, whom Herakles slew, had married Klytia, the daughter of Merops, and by her was the father of Chalkon (Chalkodon in Apollodorus), from whom noble families of Kos claimed descent (Schol. Theokrit., vii, 5). His daughter, upon whom Herakles begat Thessalos, was Chalkiope. The MSS. reading τὴν Ἀλκιόπου must be a blunder, probably for τὴν Χαλκιόπην. As a possible alternative Robert (*Held.*, p. 563, n. 8) suggested τὴν Ἄλκ[ωνος Χαλκι]όπην. But Alkon has no *locus standi*: τὴν [Χ]άλκ[ωνος Χαλκι]όπην involves two blunders in the MSS., and Chalkon was the brother not the father of Chalkiope.

Our *aition*, though undoubtedly Koan, seems to me to be quite artificial and relatively late. *A priori* it is not likely to contain any history, and the favourite superstition that cult-legends of Herakles reflect Dorian invasions, to which Robert (*op. cit.*, p. 562) seems in this case to adhere, has been exploded by Farnell (*H. C.*, pp. 119 f.), who in this particular instance further points out that the associations of the story are Thessalian-Achaean rather than Dorian.

Plutarch's note is rather careless and confused in form. He opens with the problem of the priest's *costume*; the *aition* concludes with the statement that this is the reason for the *place* at which the sacrifice is offered and for the costume of Koan *bridegrooms*, who have not before been mentioned. Again, as Farnell has pointed out (*H. C.*, pp. 160 foll.), though we hear no more about the Thracian woman in whose house Herakles took refuge, obviously she must have had some purpose in the story. We are, therefore, concerned with three matters of custom: (1) a Koan marriage rite, (2) the ceremonial dress of the priest of Herakles, and (3) some obscure connexion of Thracian women with the cult of Herakles in Kos.

The last of these problems is indeed very obscure. Farnell compares the cult of Herakles at Erythrai (Pausanias, vii, 5, 5), to which no women (for the very general taboo on the presence of women in cults of this hero see Farnell, *H. C.*, pp. 162–3, and Picard, *B. C. H.*, xlvii, 1923, pp. 246–9) except Thracians were admitted, a custom which was explained by the story of the rope made by the Thracian slave-women from their hair. After rightly dismissing the improbable and unhelpful theory of Wilamowitz that Θρᾳκίς is a corruption of Trachis, he is inclined to suppose that Thracian women are generic for slave-women and to attribute considerable importance to the influence of the story of Herakles' slavery upon his cult, comparing the *νόθοι* at Kunosarges. This may be the explanation, and I have no more plausible alternative to offer. That there is a point in the Thracian woman's place in the story may be thought certain: for the rest there is but little straw for brick-building.

The costume of the priest of Herakles and the Koan marriage custom have given rise to a good deal of discussion. The more important references are Nilsson, *G. F.*, pp. 369–74; Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*, pp. 93 f.; Farnell, *A. R. W.*, vii, pp. 75–89; *H. C.*, pp. 160 f.; Frazer, *G. B.*[3], Part 4, *Attis, Adonis and Osiris*, pp. 428 f.; Fehrle, *Kultische Keuschheit*, pp. 90–2; Gruppe, *Gr. Mythologie*, pp. 904 f.; Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, second edition, ii, pp. 101 f.; Westermark, *History of Human Marriage*, fifth edition, ii, pp. 518 f. See also Halliday in *B. S. A.*, xvi, pp. 212–19.

The wearing of women's clothes by men or of men's clothes by women occurs fairly often in different parts of the world, principally in the following contexts.

(1) At certain periodic seasonal festivals a general interchange of clothes between the sexes may occur in which the motive may be in order at once to change the luck and to reinforce the solidarity of society, though it may also be associated in some cases with ideas of sexual assimilation and sexual licence (see above, p. 206). Some examples will be found in *B. S. A.*, xvi, p. 217, and a Greek instance is the *Hybristika* at Argos. With interchange of clothes of this type we do not appear here to be concerned at all.

(2) At the crises of life, e. g. during mourning, at circumcision, or at marriage, individuals may be dressed in the clothes of the opposite sex. For examples see *B. S. A.*, xvi, pp. 214–15. In some cases certainly, though perhaps not in all, the motive here appears to be the cheating by disguise of malign influences (the Evil Eye, &c.) which are especially to be feared at these critical times. It is quite possible, however, that the practice may have different motives with regard to the same occasion in different places, and this uncertainty applies perhaps particularly to its use in marriage ceremonies.

(3) In many parts of the world we meet with the phenomenon of shamans, who wear women's clothes and are said to become women (see the references given in *B. S. A.*, xvi, p. 214, xvii, pp. 95–102). Such persons are sometimes, though by no means always, either naturally impotent or artificially emasculated (to the references indicated above add those in Nock, *A. R. W.*, xxiii, pp. 25–33, and Penzer-Tawney, *The Ocean of Story*, iii, Appendix II, pp. 319–29). As regards the ancient world the practice of emasculation is associated with the worship of the Anatolian Mother-Goddess and with that of the androgynous deities, which are characteristic of the Cypro-Semitic area.

Now I am inclined to agree with Mr. Nock (*op. cit.*, p. 26, n. 1) that dressing in women's clothes and self-mutilation are not necessarily connected. In fact, the general anthropological problems with regard to the practices which are usually grouped together under one heading need reinvestigation with a very close

attention to particular differences as well as to general similarities. Such a reinvestigation is likely to reveal that a number of quite different phenomena have been mistakenly classified as identical. Thus Frazer (*Attis, Adonis and Osiris*, p. 431) has made much of the effeminate Herakles and the Omphale story, ignoring the late character (see p. 188 above) of the traits upon which his theory of the connexion of our context with the Asiatic Goddess and an androgynous hero rests. I can detect no necessary indication of any real connexion, and should therefore rule out the discussion of eunuch priests and androgynous deities as irrelevant to the cult at Antimachia.

The priest officiated dressed in a flowered robe and a *mitra*. The latter is not the oriental diadem or mitre but the band or snood which was normally worn round the heads of Greek women (see Daremberg and Saglio, s. v. *mitra*, iii, p. 1955). The flowered robe seems to have been forbidden under the sumptuary laws of certain states (Sparta, Syracuse, Lokris, and possibly Athens) to any but courtesans (see Mau in *P. W.*, i, p. 2377). But its specific prohibition [1] to female worshippers in certain cults of Demeter (references collected in Wächter, *Reinheitsvorschriften*, p. 19) shows that its secular use by free-born women was not universally forbidden. This is also implied by Artemidorus, ii, 3, 83 f. As a general rule *ἐσθὴς ἡ συνήθης πᾶσιν ἀγαθὴ καὶ ἡ κατὰ τὴν ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους*. Hence a man who dreams of women's clothes is in for bad luck except at festivals, presumably because such garments are not then abnormal and possibly there is masquerade. *ἐν μέντοι ταῖς ἑορταῖς καὶ πανηγύρεσιν οὔτε ποικίλη οὔτε γυναικεία βλάπτει.*

The priest's dress was therefore remarkable both for its sex and its colour. That perhaps the flowered robe may be due to Anatolian influence is suggested by the excitement aroused in Rome by the costume of Battakes, the priest of the Great Mother at Pessinuntum. *χρυσοῦν τε γὰρ στέφανον εἶχεν ὑπερμεγέθη καὶ στολὴν ἀνθίνην διάχρυσον, βασιλικὴν ἀξίαν ἐπιφαίνουσαν* (Diodorus, xxxvi, 13).

A fragmentary and hitherto unpublished inscription from Tlos in Lycia, a copy of which I owe to its discoverer, Professor H. A. Ormerod, mentions male wearers of feminine garments and an official, who is dressed in an *ἀνθινόν*. The regulations appear to refer to the temple and festival of a goddess. . . . *ἔχων στολὴν ἀνθίνην ἄλλος μὴ ἀγειρέτω μη . . . . . [μηθεὶ]ς τουτῶν ἐγ γυναικείαι στολῆι, ἐὰν δέ τις παρα[βαίνηι καὶ εἰ]ς τὸ ἱερὸν ἔλθηι, ἀποτινέτω τῆς ἡμέρας ἑκάστης . . . .*

Lycians wore the clothes of the opposite sex in mourning (Plutarch, *Cons. ad Apoll.*, 112 F, Val. Max., ii, 6, 13) and they

[1] The normal dress both for worshippers and for priests in all Greek religious ceremonies was white. White is often specifically prescribed by regulation or coloured garments explicitly prohibited (references in Wächter, *op. cit.*, pp. 16 f.).

may have done so upon occasions of carnival. The fragments of the inscription are too obscure to be certain as to the nature of the festival or as to the character of the goddess. They throw no real light upon the Koan problem.

That male religious functionaries sometimes wore the clothes of the opposite sex is attested for the Bronze Age by the lyre-player dressed in woman's robes, who appears at the sacrifice upon the Hagia Triadha sarcophagus. The son of the priestess at Siris was dressed in female garb (Schol. Lykophron, 984). A relief, which is figured in Baumeister's *Denkmäler* (p. 467, Fig. 497), shows a man sitting with his head covered by a cloth : the bearded priest, who is busied at the altar, not only wears a woman's robe but has his hair dressed in a feminine *chignon.* The scene may well represent some initiation ceremony. It is currently alleged to be Dionysiac, but there is no real evidence for this particular attribution. In fact, these examples tell us no more than that the wearing of feminine apparel by the priest of Herakles at Kos was not a unique phenomenon. In no other case have we any real clue to the reason for the practice, which indeed may have been different in different cases.

With regard to Antimachia it is not unreasonable to suppose that the priest's garb may be connected with the marriage custom with which it is associated in our text. Although Back was definitely wrong in relating the regulations for the cult of Herakles Diomedonteios (Dittenberger, *Syll.*, 1106) to our festival, these regulations do indicate that Herakles at Kos was a marriage god (see Nilsson, *G. F.*, p. 452). With this fact Nilsson associates the title of Ἡρακλῆς ἐς Κονίσαλον in Dittenberger, *Syll.*, 1027. Paton's brilliant restoration of the word Konisalos may be regarded as certain,[1] but unfortunately its significance is not. Herter has pointed out (*De dis Atticis Priapi similibus,* Bonn, Diss., 1926, p. 27) that in the first place the form of the title is locative rather than adjectival of quality, and secondly, that there is no definite evidence of the phallic sense of the word outside Attica. The alternative sense of 'dust', Herakles of the Dusty Place, is not impossible. I am inclined to think, nevertheless, that Nilsson may be right. If so, there is some justification for comparing an ithyphallic Herakles with the Cretan Leukippos, in whose honour the *Ekdusia* was celebrated at Phaistos. According to the story, Leukippos was a maiden whose sex was changed by Leto Phytia in response to her mother's prayer, and, according to practice, local brides were bedded before marriage with the *xoanon* of Leukippos. The generally accepted explanation of these data was first propounded by Dümmler. According to this the *aition* explained the fact that an ithyphallic *xoanon* was clad in feminine dress, with this brides were bedded, and perhaps the name

[1] Ἡρακλεῖ ἐς Κο[νίσαλον] ἀρὴν καυτός· ταῖ αὐταῖ ἀρέραι· Ἡρακλεῖ [ἐς Κονί]-σαλον βοῦς.

ἐκδύσια arose from the disrobing of the *xoanon* for the purpose (see Nilsson, *G. F.*, p. 370).

Obviously we are here involved in a series of conjectures about data which are almost certainly connected, but about none of which individually have we sufficient precise information. Upon the whole the most reasonable explanation appears to me to be that offered by Nilsson. The wearing of clothes of the opposite sex at marriage, a practice which is fairly widespread, was certainly known elsewhere in classical antiquity. Other examples are the false beards worn by Argive brides ([Plutarch], *mul. uirt.*, 245 F) and the male dress worn by brides at Sparta (Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 15) or by Roman women when sacrificing to Mutinus Tutunus (Festus in Paulus, p. 154). There is some reason to think that Herakles on Kos was a god of marriage. Hence may have arisen the practice of dressing the priest at Antimachia in feminine garb. In any case the *aition* is patently an invention to explain a custom the origin of which had ceased to be intelligible.

Question 59

Q. *Whence is the clan of 'Wagon-rollers' in Megara?*

A. *In the time of the unbridled democracy which perpetrated sacrilege as well as the enforced return of interest, there was a sacred embassy of the Peloponnesians on its way to Delphi through the Megarid, and they bivouacked in Aigeiroi by the side of the lake, with their children and wives, as they were, in the wagons. But the most headstrong of the Megarians being flown with wine and savage violence, rolled back the wagons and pushed them into the lake, so that many of the envoys were drowned.*

Now the Megarians, thanks to the anarchy of the state, took no notice of the crime, but the Amphictyons, since the embassy was a sacred one, took the matter up and punished some of the guilty parties with banishment and others with death. But those who were descended from them were called 'Wagon-rollers'.

The source is quite clearly the same as that of Question 18 (p. 99 above).

The scene of the incident is laid at Aigeiroussa, Aigeiros, or Aigeiroi, as it is variously called (Steph. Byz., s. v. Αἰγείρουσα, where the reference to Strabo is a mistake). The place was mentioned in the Megarian *riposte* to the Athenian interpolation in the Homeric *Catalogue* (see p. 98 above). The town, of which no traces have survived, stood probably upon the southern shores of the lake, which is now called Vouliasmeni, and in antiquity was known as Eschatiotis Limne or Gorgopis (Hesychius, s.v. Γοργῶπις,

Et. Mag., p. 384, 32). It lay north-east of Heraion. The beacon from Cithaeron in the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus (302) flashed across it to Geraneia.

> λίμνην δ' ὑπὲρ Γοργῶπιν ἔσκηψεν φάος·
> ὄρος τ' ἐπ' Αἰγίπλαγκτον ἐξικνούμενον
> ὤτρυνε θεσμὸν μηχανήσασθαι πυρός.

It was by this lake that Agesilaos received the Boeotian envoys, when news was brought of the annihilation of the Amyclean *mora* by Iphicrates (Xenophon, *Hell.*, iv, 5, 6 f.). The *theoria* in our story was proceeding along the regular western route from the Peloponnese to Central Greece *via* Pagae and Aegosthena. For the site of the lake and of Aigeiroussa see further Bursian, *Geographie*, i, p. 383.

It may be noted that the Amphictyonic Council did not normally proceed against individuals but against the states to which they belonged. 'Der Zusatz, "weil die Stadt sie nicht straft", der sich in das kurze anekdotische Exzerpt hindurch gerettet hat, verrät dass die Sache sich so verhalten hat, wie bei Amphissa 339,' Kahrstedt, *Gr. Staatsrecht*, i, p. 390.

INDEX

Figures in heavy type indicate passages of major length or importance.

I

Names of Months

Agrionios (Boeotia, Kos, Kalymnos, Rhodes, Byzantium, Lesbos) 165.
Alalkomenaios (Boeotia) 181
Anthesterion (Athens) 58, 60, 61
Apellaios (Delphi) 68
Athenaios (Aetolia) 181
Bukatios (Delphi) 68
Busios (Delphi) 56, **60**, 68
Dadophorios (Delphi) 72, 158
Geraistios (Troizen, Kalauria) 106, 206
Hekatombaion (Athens, Ionians) 78, 79
Hekatombios (Halos) 79
Ilaios (Delphi) 68
Karneios (Cyrene) 61
Lukeios (Chaleion) 60
Thargelion (Athens, Delos) 61
Thyios (Elis) 156, 158

II

Names of Festivals

Agriania (Argos) 162, 165
Agrionia (Boeotia) 159, 162, 164, 165, 166, 167
ἀγὼν ἐν σκίλλαις (Sicily) 198
Anodos (Athens) 144
Anthesteria (Athens) 166, 184, 185
Apatouria (Ionians) 77, 82, 142, 184
Aphrodisia 183, 184, 185
Balletus (Eleusis) 198
Bouphonia (Athens) 155
Charila (Delphi) 65, 66, **72**
Choes (Athens) 61, 70, 183, 184
Chutroi (Athens) 58
Daphnephoria (Thebes) 67
Daulis (Argos) 198
Ekdusia (Phaistos) 218
Eleutheria (Smyrna) 206
Hekatombaia (Ionians) 78
Hermaia (Crete) 206, 207
Herois (Delphi) 65, **71**
Hybristika (Argos) 116, 207, 216
Hydrophoria (Athens) 58
Kalligeneia (Athens) 143, 144
Katagogia (Ephesus) 198
Kissotomoi (Phlius) 206
Kronia (Athens) 206
Lampteria (Pallene) 155
Lithobolia (Troizen) 198
Lykaia (Arcadia) **169**
Megalartia (Delos, Thebes) 143
Nesteia (Athens) 143
Nuktelia (Boeotia) 167
Oschophoria (Athens) 143
Peloria (Thessaly) 206
Pithoigia (Athens) 156
Poseidonia (Aigina) 185
Sakaia (Babylon) 207
Saturnalia (Cyrene, Rome) 206, 207
Septerion (Delphi) 60, 65, **67**
Thargelia (Athens) 43, 72
Theodosia (Andros) 155
Theophania (Delphi) 61
Theoxenia (Delphi) 61
Thesmophoria 110, **142**
Thiasoi (Aigina) 70, **183**
Thyia (Elis) 155, 158

III

General Index

Abantes 113
Abaton on Mt. Lykaion **168**
Abrote 91, 95
Achaea, Achaeans 73, 141, 147, 197
Achaios 89
Achilles **133**, **159**, 214
Adonis 208
Adrastos 131, 194
Adultery, punishment of **41**
Aeacus 164
Aegosthena 98, 220
Aeinautai **146**
Aeneas 80, 178
Aeolis, Aeolians 112, 113, 209
Aeolic Dialect 55
Aethlios 89, 90
Aetolia, Aetolians 79, 80, 87, 88, 141, 150, 175, 194, 197
Agamemnon 118, 142, 204
Agaue 165
Agenor 89, 190, 220
Aglauros 175
Agraulos 47
Agrios 80, 87
Aidos, shrine of 194, 197
Aietes 182
Aigeiroussa 98, 219
Aigeus 92, 113
Aigialeis 41
Aigina, Aiginetans 70, 78, 105, 114, 164, 183
Aiklos 112, 113
Ainianes **73**, **129**
Aioleiai 68, **167**
Aiolos 89, 90
Aithakia, Aithika 73, 75, 129
Aitolos 87, 89
Aix 65, 70
Ajax 142, 154, 183
Akamas 152
Akanthos 139, 140
Akarnanians 141
Akastos 103
Ake 178
Akestor 159, 161
Akidas 178
Akidousa 177, 178
Akragas 44
Akraia 97, 145
Akrisios 131
Aktis 132
Alalkomenai **180**
Alalkomeneion 180, 182
Alalkomeneus 181
Alastor **126**
Alcmaeon 120
Aletes 64, 76
Alexander 107, 124
Alexida 116, 118, 119, 120
Aliterios **126**
Alkaidai 114, 116
Alkathoe 164, 165
Alkathoos 94
Aloeus 182
Alke 106
Alkon 113
Alkmena 94, 164
Alkyone 105, 106
Alkyoneus 65, 106
Alkyonian Lake 72, 153
Alpheios 50, 103
Althaimenes 111
Althea 87
Althephios, Althephos 103, 106
Amazons 162, 178, 179, 186, 188, 207, **209**
Ἀμελοῦς γωνία 172,
Amnemones **47**
Amphiaraos 116, 119, 120, 126, 175
Amphictyonic League 74, 219, 220
Amphictyony of Kalauria 105, 184
Amphiktyon 83, 88, 89, 91, 94
Amphion 106, 117, 182
Amphipolis 152
Amphissa 85, 115
Amphithea 135
Amphitrite 153
Amphitryon 113
Amyclae 111
Anaitis 111
Anakes, Anaktes 115, 118, 119
Anaklesis 156
Ἀνάσσα 115
Anaxandridas 56, 57, 66
Andokides 81, 128
Androgeos 136
Androklos 206

Andros 64, 139, 140, 155
Anigros 87, 178
Anna 115
Anodos of Kore or Semele 71
Anointing of sacred stones 77
Antagoras 213, 214
Anthas, Antheias, Anthes, Anthos 103, 104, 105
Antheads of Halikarnassos 103, 105, 106
Anthedon 93, **102**, 162, 174
Anthedonia 103, 105
Antikleia 180, **182**
Antimachia 212, 213, 218
Antiope 182
Antiphon 81, 126, 179
Aparchai **51**, 125, 151, 190
Aphabroma **91**
Aphester **47**
Aphidna 113
Aphrodite 185, 203, 204
  A. Akidalia 159
  A. Argynnis 204
  A. Dexikreontos **202**
  A. ἐφ' Ἱπολύτῳ 204
  A. Euploia 205
Apia 198, 199
Apis 199
Apollo 65, 66, 67, **68**, 71, 78, 92, 94, 98, 104, 115, 120, 121, 123, 127, 133, 137, 158, 164, 169, 184, 187
  A. Connected with seventh day **60**, 67
  A. Agyieus 78
  A. Archegetes 119
  A. Delphinios 151
  A. Ebdomeios 61
  A. Epopsios 192
  A. Hebdomagenes 61
  A. Hebdomagetes 61
  A. Hekatombaios 79
  A. Iasonios 204
  A. Kalliteknos 144
  A. Phuxios, Puxios 214
  A. Ptoios 59, 105
Arainos Akte 139, 140
Arbitration **107, 140**
Arcadia, Arcadians 79, 105, 142, 150, **168**, 197, 199, 202
Archagetas, *Archegetes* 118, 119
Archias 64
Archytas of Amphissa 83
Archytas of Tarentum 180
Ardanion 124
Areopagus at Athens 40, 49
Ares 77, 202
Ἀρέσαντος ἔδος 172
Argonauts 64, 110, 178, 190
Argos, Argives 39, 40, 41, 45, 59, 87, **116, 120**, 153, 154, 164, 165, 183, 190, 193, 194, 196, **197, 198**, 207, 214, 219
Argynnion 204
Aricia 112
Aristarcheion 191, 192
Aristippus 185
Arkas 170, 172
Arkeisios 81
Arkesilaos 163
Arselis of Mylasa 185, 189
Arsinoe 164, 165
Artemis 47, 111, 114, 153, 210
  A. Epimulios 175
  A. Episkopos 191, 192
  A. Eunostos (?) 175
  A. Kondylitis 114
  A. Lukeia 78
  A. Tauric 111, 112, 193
Artunai, *Artunoi* **39**, 48
Asklepios 126, 137
Asopos 113, 162, 164
Astakos 195
Asteria 181
Astykrateia 94
Asvins 117
Asyla 105
Atalanta 172
Athena 45, 46, 47, 65, 114, 166, 193, 210
  A. Aiantis 204
  A. Alalkomene, Alalkomeneïs 181
  A. Alea 105, 212
  A. Alkidemos 181
  A. Areia 181
  A. Itonia 181
  A. Keleutheia 194
  A. Machanitis 126
  A. Ophthalmitis 193
  A. Optiletis 193
  A. Oxyderkes 193
  A. Tritogeneia 181
  A. Tritonia 182
Athenians, Athens 40, 45, 61, 71, 94, 105, 110, 113, 121, 124, 128, 141, 147, 149, 152, 156, 193, 194, 199, 206, 217
Athenian connexions with Euboea **113**

Athenian manipulation of legend 81, 111, 113, 152
Atherion 114
Athos 64, 140
Atlantis 154
Autolycus 182, 207
Autonoe 94, 165
Auxo 159
Axe (Tenedian) 134, 155 (of Zeus Labraundeus) **185**

Babylon 207
Bacchiads 64, 100
Ballachradai **198**
Barley Picker **51**
Basileus **45**, 156
Battakes 217
Battle of the Oak **107**
Battos 61, 64
Beggars' meat **73**
Βιαιοθάνατοι 51, 115
Bias of Priene 107, 108
Birthday of Apollo 60, 61
Bitch which littered a stick 87, 91
Bithynians 194, 195, 196
Blink, souls of dead do not 169, 173
Blood-stained earth and waters 208
Blood guilt 81, **126**
Boeotia, Boeotians 39, 42, 54, 84, 85, 93, 94, 96, 161, 162, **164**, 168, 171, 176, 177, 178, 180, 181, 182, 210.
Boeotian dialect 55
Boiled meat 144
Boiotoi 77
Boiotos 94, 163, 177
Bones of giants 208
Βοῶπις **153**
Booth burned at Septerion **68**
— of Orestes at Troizen 70
— erected at Thesmophoria 144
Bottiaeans 140, **144**
Βουγάϊος **154**
Boukoleion 155, 156
Boukolidai 79, 82
Boukolos 174, 175
Boukoloi 155
Boundary magic **201**
Boutes 155
Branchidae 59
Brasiai 114, 115
Brauron 108, 110, 111, 112
Brennus 76
Bridegroom dressed as woman 213, **216**
Brindisi 151
Britomartis 111, 175
Burners **108**
Byzantium, Byzantines 42, 195, 196

Cancellation of debt 102
Caria, Carians 77, 96, 133, 146, **185**, 187, 189, 190, 206
Carium 107, 108
Centaurs 75, 86, 87
Chaeronea 167, 175
Chalkedon 45, **194**
Chalkideis of Thrace 140
Chalkidike 64, 140
Chalkiope 113, 213, 214, 215
Chalkis 44, **112**, **139**, 146, **147**, 151, 160
Chalkodon 113, 214, 215
Charikrates 63
Charila 65, 66, **72**
Charites 136, 152, **158**, 178
Charybdis 147
Cheiromacha 145, 146, 147
Chersikrates 64
Chersonesos 109, 111
Chest, exposure of mother and child in 135, 136
Child heroes **114**
Children of Medea 114, 115
— tomb of the **112**
Chios, Chians 45, 110, 141
χρηστός 50
Clod of Earth, Gift of 76, 112, 151
Clothes of opposite sex worn 206, 212, **216**
Clouds 53
Cnossos 151, 202
Colonization of Chalkidike 64
— of Corcyra **63**
— of Crete **108**
— Megarian 100
Companions 185, 186
Consecrator 56, **57**
Corcyra **63**, 80, 81, 135, 138
Corinth, Corinthians 39, 40, 64, 76, 93, 97, 114, 138, 182, 212
Early relations with Megara **95**, 100
Corn, unground used in sacrifice 51
Crete, Cretans 40, 71, 135, 206, 207

Crete, Laconian colonization of **108**
Cretan colonization of Iapygia **149**
Criminals, cult of executed 51
Critias 136
Cumae 87, 142
Cyprus 45, 46, 187, 203, 205
Cyrene 61, 64, 76, 143, 206
Cyzicus 154, 204

Daedalus 150
Damarchos 171
Damasenor 145
Danaids 142
Dardanos 132, 193
Dead, euphemistic terms for 50
Debt, cancellation of 102
'Deer' 169, 172
Deïmachos 176, 177, 178
Delos 61, 104, 124, 135, 141, 143
Delphi 45, **56**, 63, **65**, 124, 139, 147, 149, 151, 156, 157, 168, 188, 219
Delphian dialect 60
Delphos 57, 109, 111
Delphyne 70
Demeter 53, 93, 94, 105, 115, 123, 126, 145, 159
D. Aliteria 127
D. Chloe 125
D. Epopis 192
D. Kalligeneia 144
D. Thesmophoros 142, 143
Demoteles 211, 212
Deukalion 57, 58, 84, 88, 89, 90, 132, 170, 199
Deukalionid genealogies 87
Dexikreon 202, 203, 205
Dialect Boeotian 55
— Delphian 56
— Macedonian 56, 60
Dino of Tarentum 179
Diokles 160, 174, 177
Diomedes 47, 87, 98, 192, 193
Diomedon 204
Dionysiades 72, 156
Dionysos 57, 58, 59, 61, 66, 71, 72, 87, 88, 91, 116, 137, 162, 163, **164**, 167, 203, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211
Dionysos in form of ox 57, **152**
D. Agrionios 166
D. Antheus 104
D. Anthroporraistes 155
Dionysos Bougenes **153**
D. Charidotes, Charitodotes 206
D. Euanthes 86, 106
D. Heros 71, 157
D. Laphystios 155
D. Liknites 58, 72
D. Meilichios 206
D. Mousagetes 159
D. Nuktelios 162
D. Omestes 166
D. Phleon, Phleus, Phloios 209
D. Skyllites 126
D. Tauromorphos **153**
D. Taurophagos 154
D. Zagreus 155
Dioskouroi 114, 115, **116**
Diphthera 126
Dodona 58, 74
Dog-brier, oracle of 83, 90, 91
δόγμα 99, 174
Dogs used in battle 77
Dog star 91
Donkey, rider on the **41**
δορύξενος **98**
Dotian Plain 73, 74
Drepana 135
Dryopians 106, 151
Dryussa 107
Δύσμαιναι 168
'*Dusty feet*' **39**

Earth, gift of E. confers possession **76**, **112**, 151
Earth stained by bloodshed 208
Earthquakes, cause of 208
Echelaos 161
Eileithyia 114, 115
Eilioneia 116
Eirene 102, 105
ἐκπνευματοῦν 54
Elasioi 116, **119**
ἔλαφος 169, 172
Elektryon 163, 164
Elektryone 132
Eleon 176, 177
Elephants of Dionysos 208, 209, 211
Elephenor 113, 160, 163
Eleusis 51, 52, 198
Eleuther 162, 164, 168, 171
Eleutherae 168, 169, 182
Elieus 173, 174, 175, 177
Elis, Eleans 40, 45, 47, 55, 87, 88, 116, **152**, 162, **191**, **200**

Enata 121
Endymion 89
Enknisma **120**
Ennaeteric festivals **65**
Enyalios 77
Ephesus 45, 141, 198, 207, 209, 210, 211
Ephippos 160, 164
Epidamnos 137
Epidauros **39**, 105
Epikteta 40
Epilepsy, cure of 116, **120**
Epimenides 123, 204
Epirus 75, 80, 162, 194
Epopeus 94, 182
Erechtheus 113
Eretria, Eretrians 44, 64, 113, 140, **142**
Eretrian colony at Corcyra **63**
Ergiaios 192, 194
Erigone **72**, 91
Erinyes Alastores 127
Erythrai 139, 141, 215
Eryx 214
Eselritt 43
Eschatiotis Limne 219
Euantheia 86
Euboea epithet of Hera 145
Euboea, Euboeans 106, 112, 152, 210
Euboea connected with Attica 113
Eudoxos of Knidos 48
Eumaios 51, 79, 82
Eumenides 178
Eumolpidae 184
Eumolpos 136
Eunostos **173**
Eunuch priests 216
Euphemos the Argonaut 76
Euphemistic terms for dead 50
Euripus 112, 113
Europa 197
Eurykleia 104
Eurypylos 137, 214, 215
Eyes of ghosts do not blink 169, 173
Eyes of images which roll 193

Feast of Fools 206
Festivals chosen for attack 110
Fetters, Hall of 211
Fights, ritual **198**
Fire polluted by death **124**
Five divisions of Megara 97
Flamen 46
Flesh of sacrifice 125, 126
Floating clouds **53**
Flowered robes 217
Flute-player 133, 136
Fossils 208
Fruit trees threatened 199
Functional spirits 174, 175
Funeral regulations **121**

Gaidarogyrisma 43
γαλαθηνόν 82
Galaxidi 86
Gambreon 121, 122
Ganymede 105, 206
Ge 69, 121, 125
Genealogies of Antheads 103, 106
— of Deukalionids **87**
— of Lykaonids 171
Genetullides 144
Gentile festivals **183**
Geomoroi 211, 212
Gephyraeans 113
Geraneia 97, 98
Gere 125
Gergithai **146**
Giants' bones 208
Glaukia 177
Glaukos 98, 106, 150
γόης 47
Gorgopis 219, 220
Gortyn 43, 79, 110, 111
Graces (*see also* Charites) **158**
Graia 162
Graves of Amazons 208, 210
γυμνήσιοι, γυμνῆτες 39
Gyges 185, 188, 189
Gytheion 78, 142.

Haliartos 94
Halikarnassos 48, 105, 106, 139, 187
Halys 178
Hanged deities 72, 114, 175
Heads of families, oligarchies of 40, 44, 47
Heavenly Twins 117
Hebe 207
Hecatomb 78
Hector 161
Hegemone 159
Helen Dendritis 72
Heliadai **132**
Helios 132, 182
Hellen 89

Helots 39
Hemithea 135, 136, 137
haistos 214
Hera 126, 145, 153, 157, 183, 200, 213, 214
H. Akraia 97, 145
H. Euboea 145
H. Prosymna 145
Heraclids 64, 96, 111, 113, 194
Heraeis **95**
Herakleia 47, 94
Herakles 86, 94, 114, 117, 119, 125, 159, 163, 164, 176, 177, 178, **185**, 209, 210, 211, **212**
H. Diomedonteios 204, 218
H. ἐς Κονίσαλον 218
H. Mantiklos 204, 205
Heralds **130**
Hermes 51, 120, 121, 207
H. Auxidemos 206
H. Charidotes **205**
H. Dolios 207
H. Psychopompos 123
Hermione 105, 106
'Hero' Dionysos 71, **157**
Hestia 119
Hiereus at Delphi 59
Hiero of Priene 108
Hieromnemones 48
Hippalos 118
Hippasos 164, 165
Hippodameia 157, 202
Hippolyte 185, 188
Hippomenes 94
Hippokoontids 214
Hipponikos 128
Hittite god with axe 187
Homicide, pollution of 81, **126**
Hoplite census 44
Horai 144
Horse-breeding 197, **200**
Hosioi 56, **57**, 60
Hosiôtêr 57
Hyakinthos 106
Hyantes 85
Hygieia 126
Hylas 106
Hymns of invocation 156
Hypekkaustria **45**
Hyperboreans 61, 76
Hyperborean Maidens 78
Hypere 103, 104, 105, 106
Hyperochos 73, 76
Hyrieus 106
Hyrnathioi 41
Ialysos 132
Iapyx, Iapygians **150**, 180, 196
Idaean Dactyls 114, 115
ἱερὸς γάμος 156, 176
Ikarios 80, 194, 196
Ilion 141
Illyrians 137
Imitation Palladia 193
Inachos 73, 74, 177, 179, 198, 199
Innocents, Feast of 115
Ino 94, 165
Ino-Leukothea 135
Intercalation 66
Interest regarded as unnatural **102**
Io 197, 199, 200
Ion 89, 94, 113
Ionians 96, 97, 111, 209
Iphianassa 165
Iphicrates 220
Iphigeneia 129
Iphikles 117
Iphinoe 94, 165
Iros 154
Italy 79, 80
Ithacesiae Insulae 148
Ithaka, Ithakesians **79**, 148, **180**, 194
Itonos 163, 177
Iulis in Keos 55, 121, 155

Jason 110, 204
Joppa 208
Julius Caesar 190

Kabeiroi 105, 114, 115, 116, 162
Kabeiros Kallipais 144
Kabye 83, 88, 90
Kadmos 85, 94, 197
Kalauria 102, **104**, 184
Kalauros 105
Kallias 128
Kalligeneia **142**, 159
Kallisthenes of Olynthos 56, 57
Kallisto 172
Kalyke 89, 90, 135
Kambyse 83, 88, 90
Kamiros 132
Kandaules 185, 188
Kantharion the Arcadian 169, 172
Kaphareus 142, 147
Kaphyae 114, 115
Kar 93, 94
Kassiopaea, Kassope 75, **129**
Kastabala 111

Kastor **116**
καταχύσματα 52
κατωνακοφόροι 39
καύεις, καύηξ 47
Kekrops 113, 152, **181**
Keos 55, 121, 122, 155
Kephalos 81
Kephallenia 79, 81
Kerinthos 113
Kerkaphos 130, 132
Kinadon 42
King, title of magistracy 42, **45**
Kings of Sparta 121, 192
Kirke 80
Kirrha 73, 75, 129
Klapperstein 44
Klaros 151
Klea 72, 156
Kleidamos 174, 176
Kleomachos 112
Kleombrotos 66, 68, 69
Kleonai 121, 140
Klytia 214, 215
Klytios 120
Knidos **47**, 78, 205
Knight census 44
Kodros 93, 96
Κοίης 47
Koliadai 82
Kolonos 173, 174
Kolophon 44, 141
Konon 78
Kore 71, 105, 115, 145, 159
Korinna 160, 162, 164, 165
Koroibos 98
Koronis 159
Korope 59, 61
κορυνηφόροι 39
Korybantes 114, 115
Kos 45, 53, 125, 126, 139, 183, 184, 187, **212**
Kothos 112, 113
Kottyto 155
Kouretes 114
Krapfen 62
Krataidas 111
Kresphontes 76
Krios 70
Krithologos **51**
Kronos 45, 210
Krotopos 98
Kume **42**, 209
Kunosoura 98
Kunosoureis **95**
κυνόφαλοι 39
Kunos 58, 84, 88
Kydippe 130, 132, 133
Kyknos 135, 137, 214
Kylon of Athens 101
Kynaitha 154
Kyrbe 132, 133

Labraunda 186
Labrys 185, 186, 188
Labyadae **121**, 184
Lacedaemon, Laconia (*see also* Sparta) 48, 109, 110, 162, 192, 197, 210
Laconian colonization in Crete **108**
Laertes 180
Lais 185
Lakêtêr 213, 214
Laomedon 135
Laonike 172
Lapiths 73
Larasa 186
Lasterstein 44
Laws, Funerary **121**
Leagros 192, 194
Lebadeia 115, 168, 172
Lebados 168, 171, 172
Lebedos 141
Leda 119
Leis 103
Leïtos 163, 164
Lelegians 84, 96, 179, **189**
Lemnian women 86, 204
Lemnos, Lemnians 108, 110, 124, 190
Leon 174
Lerna 71, 72, 153
Lesbos 132, 133
Leto 70, 104
L. Phytia 278
Leuke 162
Leukippe 162, 164, 165
Leukippides 192, 193
Leukippos 133, 160, 161, 162, 218
Leukophrys 134, 135
Leukothea 135, 175
Liburnians 64
Liknites 58, 72
Lindos 132, 214
Linos 105, 106
Lokrians Epizephyrian 44
— Opuntian 44, 47, **51**
— Ozolian **83**
Lokros 83, 88, 89, 90
Lydia, Lydians 111, 185, 187, 188

Lykaon **168**
Lykoreia 57
Lykosoura 52
Lykotadas 40
Lysimachus 107, 108, 195
Lysippe 132, 162, 165
Lyttos 109, 110, 111

Machaon 137
Maeandrius of Miletus 108
Maenads 72, 156, 158, 165, 167
Magnesia, Magnesians 44, 77, 141, 151, 165
'Maidens, The' 177, 178
Makar, Makareus, Makaros 132, 133
μάκαρ, μακάριος, μακαρίτης 50
Makyna 83, 86
Mantinea 40, 97, 181
Mantiklos 204, 205
Manto 94, 151
Marathon 77, 98
Marathonios 89
Marriage customs 130, 131, 213, 216
Marriages, ritual 156
Meal, use of in sacrifice 51
Medea, Children of 114, 116
Megara, Megarians 45, **91**, 97, 110, 141, 168, 190, 196, 210, **211**, 212, **219**
Megara's early relations with Corinth **95**, 100
Megareis **95**
Megareus 91, 94
Megaros 94
Meilanion 172
Melampus 87, 120, 165, 203, 204
Melanippos 131, 194
Melantheia 103
Melanthos 77
Meliac War 108
Melikertes-Palaimon 114, 135, 136
Men Pharnakou 204
Meropes **213**
Messene, Messenians 50, 140, 151, 204
μετάρσιος 54
μετέωρος 54
Methon 64, 65
Methone 64
Midnight council 45
Midsummer Fires 70
Migrations of Ainianes **74**, 129
Miletus, Milesians 45, 59, 107, 141, **145**, 187, 212
Minos 93, 109, 136, 150, 152, 178
Minyads **164**
Minyans 110, **189**
Mitra 217
Mixarchagetas **116**
Mnamon 48
Mnemon 137
Mnemones 48
Modesty, altar of 194, 197
Moira 168
Mola Salsa 52
Molionids 214
Molossia 73, 75, 129
Molpos 133
Mourning, rites of 116, **121**, 216, 217
Mules, breeding of 200, 201
Muses 159, 167
Mutinus Tutunus 219
Mykale 181, 206, 210
Mylasa 107, 185, 186, 205
Myndos 105
Myous 141
Myrine 209
Myrtis 164, 174
Mytilene 45, 141, 209

Narthakians 141
Naukraroi 146
Naukratis 205
Nauplia 105
Nauplios 142, **147**
Nausicaa 80, 81
Naxos 159
Neïdes 203, 207, 208, 211
Nemesis 127
Neoptolemos 75, 79, 81
Neriton 182
Nessos 83, 84, 86, 87
Nikander 59, 60
Nine Ways 152
Niobe 162
Nisaea 91, 93, 98
Nisos 91, 93
Nomophylakes 55
Nyktimos 170
Nymphs 51, 115
Nysa 155

Oak, Battle at the **107**
Ochemos 174
Ochimos 130, 132
Ochne **173**

Odysseus **79, 180**, 197
Cults of O. 194
Parentage of O. **182**
Shrine of O. at Sparta **192**
Oedipus 128, 131, 182
Oiantheia 85, 86
Oineus 87, 89, 162
Oinoklos 73, 75, 129, 130
Oinomaos 200, 202
Oinope 94
Okridion 130, 131
Oleiai 68, **164**
Oligarchic constitutions **39**, 44, 47
Olympia 45, 191, 202
Olynthos 140
Omphale 185, 187, 188, 217
Onchestos 91, 93, 94
Opous 58, 83, 84, 88, 109
Opuntians 44, 47, **51**, 90
Oracle, days for consultation at Delphi **61**
— of buying earth **112**
— of dog-brier **83**
— of exchange of sites 104
— of gift of earth **73**
— of losing goddess and anchor 111
— of wine of Anthedon 102
Orchomenos 159, 162, 164, 166, 178
Orestes 61, 70, 78, 113, 128, 178, 184, 193
Orestheus 87, 89
Oropus 120, 175
Orpheus 64, 65, 176, 196
Orthia 111
Osiris 58, 167
ὄσπρια 190
Ox called *hosiôtêr* **56**
— form of Dionysos 57, **152**
— sacrificed to benefactor **148**
— sent annually to Kassope **129**
Oxylos 87
Ozon 86

Pagae 97, 141, 200
Παῖς Ἥρως 114
Palamnaios **126**
Palintokia **102**
Palladium 112, 192, **193**
Pallene 64, 65, 140, 155
Panaima **207**
Pandion 92, 93, 94
Parade as punishment **41**
Paranymphos 131
Paraouai, Parauaioi 73, 75
Paros, Parians 136, 139, 141, 145
Parnassos 57, 72, 151, 156, 158
Patrai 104, 114, 115
Payment of priests 125
Pear-Throwers **198**
Pedetes 211, 212
Peiraeis **95**
Peisistratos 93, 101, 152
Pelasgians 110, 112, 190
Pelasgos 197
Peleus 78, 128, 164
Pelops 159, 172, 202
Pelters of Pear-trees **198**
Peneleos 160, 161, 163, 177
Penelope 80, 192, 194, 197
Pentaeteris 67
Pentheus 165, 210
Pephnus 114, 115
Perideipnon **121**
Perinthos 77, 211, 212
Perpetual Sailors **145**
Perquisites of priest 125
Perseus 118, 208
Phaeacia, Phaeacians 48, 64
Phaethon 132, 133
Phagilos 79
Phalion 195, 196
Pharmakoi 43, 72
Phemios 73, 76, 77, 78
Pherae 103, 104
Pheres 75
Philip of Macedon 86, 152, 186
Philoitios 79, 82
Philoktetes 80
Philonome 135
Philonomos 111
Phlius 39, 105, 168, 207
Phloion 207, 208
Phokis, Phokians 84
Phokos 78
Phoroneus 197, 199
Phthoïs 56, **62**
Phuskeis 90
Phuskoa 88, 157
Phuskios, Phuskos 83, 88, 89, 90 91
Phylaktes 42, **45**
Phyllis 152
Phytios 87, 89
Pieros 65
Piraeus 187, 205
Pitch, gold concealed in **148**
Placentia bacchica 62

Plataea 119, 124, 163
Platuchaitas **54**
Ploutis 145, 146
Plural form of place-name 181
Pluto 121
Poeonians 77
Poimandria 160, **162**
Poimandros 113, **159**
Polemarch 94
Poletes **137**
Pollis 104, 109, 111
Polydeukes **116**
Polykrithos 160, 162
Polyxena 137
Poseidon 94, 103, 104, 105, 106, 154, 202, 214, 215
P. Basileus 184
P. Domatites 184
P. Genethlios 184
P. Genesios 184
P. Geraistios 106
P. Hippios 182
P. Pater 184
P. Phratrios 184
P. Phutalmios 106
P. Poliouchos 184
Possession the cause of epilepsy 120
Preliminary sacrifice **51**
Priene, Prienians **106**, 206
Priest, perquisites of 125
Priestess at Soli **45**
Priesthoods tenure of 166, 167
Prison officials 45
Probouloi 49
Proitids 87, 162, 165, 203
Prokleia 135
Promantis 59
Prometheus 58
Prometheus of Kume 44
Propaganda, Athenian political 81, 111, 113
Prophetes 57, **59**, 60
προσπερμεία 53
Prostropaios 127
Protogeneia 88, 89
Psoloeis 164, 167
Purification after homicide 189
Purification after sexual intercourse 176
Pursophion **147**
Pursuit, ritual **166**
Πυρφόρος 147
Pyrrha 84, 90
Pyrrhias 148
Pyrrhus 59
Pythagoreans 169, 173
Pythia 59, 60, 62, 66, 102
Pythian Games 67, 68
Pytho 60, 70, 87, 104
Python **65**, 68, 69, 70, 71, 86, 127

Ram, parade on 43
Red earth and water 208
Regalia 188
Relics of Amazons 210
Rhea 126
Rhegium 44, 151
Rhode 132
Rhodes, Rhodians 107, 108, 111, **130**, 139, 141, 163, 197
Riddles at *Agrionia* 167
Rites de Passage 122, 207
Rolandsäule 44
Rome, Romans 80, 102, 107, 151, 153, 193, 196, 207, 219
Romulus 162

Sacred Way 65, 71
Sacrifice to terminate mourning **123**
Sagaris 188
Sagenverschiebung 161
Sailor's cult of Aphrodite 205
Salamis 141
Salamis in Cyprus 47, 166
Salt 95, **99**
Sambikos 191
Samos, Samians 71, **106**, 137, 138, 141, **202**, **205**, **207**, **211**, 212
Samothrace 45, 47, 105
Sandas 187
Sane 139, 140
Schandstein 44
Scythia, Scythians 188, 200
Sea, arrival of Dionysos from 157
Sea-water, ritual use of 176
Search for Dionysos 167
Selloi 58
Semele 65, 71
Serapis 205
Serfs 39
Seventh day sacred to Apollo **60**, 67
Sex taboos 175, 176
Shadow, loss of 169, **172**
Sham fights **198**
Sheep-breeding 197
Sicily 119, 142, 198

Sicyon 39, 41, 141, 182, 194
Siphnos 45, 178
Sirius 91
Sisyphos 180, **182**
Sixteen Women, the 72, 88, 156, 157
Skamandros 162, **176**
Skias 173, 175
Skiron 94
σκότος 108
Skylla 93, 129, 177
Skyllis 118
Skyros 43, 80
Slaves, free women marry 195, 196
— served by masters 206, 207
— tabooed 183, 184, 213
Smyrna 206, 209
Snake at Delphi 69
Socrates of Argos 116, 120, 126, 153, 197
Soli **45**
Solitary Eaters **183**
Sparagmos 165
Sparta, Spartans (*see also* Lacedaemon) 39, 42, 49, 50, 72, 82, 97, 111, 112, 131, 142, 143, 169, **192**, 194, 197, 212, 217, 219
Spear, winning land by 139, 140
Spear-friend 95, **98**
Spercheios 74, 75
Staphylos 87
Stealing at festivals **205**
Stones, sacred or magical **43**, 77, **78**
Strategos at Tarentum 180
Stratonike 159, 161
Sulphurous streams **86**
Sundried meat 144
Syme 133
Synoecism 97
Syracuse 64, 115, 143, 212, 217
Syrion 205

Taenarum 104
Talthybiadai 82
Tanagra 113, **159**, **173**, 177, 178
Taphiassos 86
Taraxippos 202
Tarentum 162, **179**, 194, 196
Tauric Artemis 111
Tauriform Dionysos 57, **152**
Tegea 50, 105, 121, 123, 193, 212
Telamon 78
Telchines 132
Telegonos 80
τέλειον 82
Telemachos **79**
Telephos 129, 137
Telesilla 116
Temenos 192, 194
Temon 73, 76
Tempe 61, 67, 68, 70, 71
Tenages 132, 133, 135
Tenedos 42, **133**, 155
Tenes **133**
Teos 155, 190
Tereus 190
Teukros 129
Theagenes of Megara 99, **101**, 212
Thebes, Thebans 67, 93, 110, 114, 115, 128, 143, 161, 162, 163, 164, 168, 182, 197
Theiodamas 214
Themis 49, 69
Thetis 133, 137
Theognis 101
Thera, Theraeans 40, 64, 110
Thermodon 178, 209
Theseus 113, 151, 210
Thesmophylakes 55
Thespesios 173
Thespiae 55, 154
Thessalos 214, 215
Thessaly, Thessalians 74, 75, 104, 162, 171, 200, 206, 214
Thiasoi 165, 183, 184
Thoas 129
Thoas of Miletus 145
Thrasymachos of Kume 44
Three in Dionysiac ritual 165
— in mourning ritual **121**
θύειν 158
Thyiads 57, 58, 65, 68, 72, 88, 151, 156, 158, 168
Tiryns 199, 200
Titaresios 74
Tithorea 182
Tlepolemos 160, 161, 163, 164
Torone 140
Toxeus 162
Traditio per terram **76**, 112, 151
Tralles 53, 186, **189**
Tralleis 190
Tralleus 191
Trapezus 170
Triakades 122
Trieteric festivals 66, 166

Triopas, Triopes, Triops 132, 133, 197
Tripodiskioi **95**
Trita 121
Triton 76
Troilos 137
Troizen 70, 71, 78, 103, 105, 106, 198, 206, 210
Trophonios, the sons of 115
Troy 112, 113, 142, 163, 166, 177, 178, 193, 213, 214
Trumpets in ritual use 153
Twins 117
Tyndareus 117, 119
Tyndarids 110, **116**
Tyrimnos 187

Veils 194, 196, 197
Ver Sacrum **151**
Verres 134
Verse oracles at Delphi 59
Vetch used for purification 53, **189**
Victims of sacrifice, technical terms for 82
Village communities **96**, 163
Vine, origin of 87
— of Nysa 155
Vintages 103
Vrykolakas 123, 128

Wagon-Rollers **219**
Water as cargo 203, 205
Werewolves **169**
White garments 116, 217
Woman's robe worn by priest 212, **216**
Women carried off by raiders 110
W. tabooed 173, 176, 215

Xanthios, Xanthos 77
Xanthos-Skamandros 179
Xouthos 89, 112

Zagreus 155
Zakynthos 79
Zaleukos 42
Zeipoites, Ziboites 194, 195
Zethos 117, 182
Zeus 74, 89, 117, 133, 137, 145, 164, 168, 184, 214
Z. Alastor 127
Z. Aliterios 127
Z. Aristarchus 192
Z. Chthonios 121, 125
Z. Epikarpios 206
Z. Epopetes, Epoptes, Epopsios 192
Z. Hekatombaios 79
Z. Herkeios 114
Z. Kappotas 78
Z. Ktesios 206
Z. Labrandeus, &c. **185**
Z. Laphystios 167
Z. Larasios 186
Z. Lykaios 105, **109**
Z. Osogoa 186
Z. Palamnaios 127
Z. Panamaros Argyrou 204
Z. Stratios 186, 187
Zoilos 164, 166

PRINTED IN ENGLAND AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS OXFORD
BY JOHN JOHNSON PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS-URBANA
881P6MFQ.H C001
THE GREEK QUESTIONS OF PLUTARCH OX
3 0112 023827840